WHAT ARE THEY THINKING?
MORAL REASONING IN ELEMENTARY CHILDREN WITH EMOTIONAL/BEHAVIORAL DISORDERS

By

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by

Elizabeth Long Hardman

I dedicate this dissertation to a former student.

For William
A four-year-old who taught me about patience, persistence, and unconditional love

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

page

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iv

LIST OF TABLES ix

ABSTRACT x

CHAPTERS

1 INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM 1

Statement of the Problem 4
Current Approaches 4
The Student With EBD 7
The Cognitive-Developmental Approach 10
Purpose and Objectives of the Study 12
Rationale 12
Cognition 13
Behavior 15
Emotion 17
Definition of Terms 20
Delimitations of the Study 24
Limitations of the Study 25
Summary 25
Overview of the Remaining Chapters 27

II REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE 28

Theory Development 28
Piaget's Theory 29
Piaget's Study 30
Kohlberg's Contribution 35
Relevant Research 41
Evidence for Stages 42
Evidence for Social Domains 46
Social Constructivists Challenges 49
A Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Moral Education 50
Review of Seven Independent Variables 52
Socioeconomic Status 53

Grade 54
Gender 55
Anger 57
Emotional/Behavior Disorders (EBD) 59
Ethnicity 61
Reading Comprehension 63
Summary 64

III METHOD 68

Introduction to the Pilot Study 68
Statement of Research Hypothesis 69
Research Design 69
Setting and Participants 70
Pilot Instrumentation 73
Moral Theme Inventory 73
Moral Dilemma Interview 74
Data Collection 75
Moral Theme Inventory 75
Moral Dilemma Interview 76
Pilot Study Results 81
Introduction to the Present Study 82
Statement of Research Hypothesis 83
Design 84
Sampling 85
Setting and Participants 88
Setting 88
Participants 88
Instrumentation 90
Moral Theme Inventory 90
Moral Dilemma Interview 92
Feelings Questionnaire 93
Research Procedures 96
Data Collection and Analysis 96

VI RESULTS 99

Causal Comparative Results 99
Bivariate Correlations 100
Simultaneous Multiple Regression 102
Case Study Results 103
Issue Choice 105
Moral Judgement 107
Moral Orientation 114
Summary of the Results 120

V DISCUSSION 123

Overview of the Study 124
Summary of the Findings 125
Discussion 126
Causal Comparative Results 127
Case Study Results 130
Relationships 132
Just and Unjust Relationships 134
Feelings 139
Moral Orientation 144
Experience and the Development of Moral Orientation 150
Limitations 150
Implications 153
Professional Practice 154
Teacher Preparation 155
Future Research 156

APPENDICES

A UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW 157

B RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS 164

Moral Theme Inventory 165
Feelings Questionnaire 190
Moral Dilemma Interview 197

REFERENCES 210

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH 220

LIST OF TABLES

Table		page
2.1	Piaget's Theory	33
2.2	Kohlberg's Theory	41
3.1	Issues Presented in Eight Dilemmas	77
3.2	Norms Valued and Their Definitions	80
3.3	The Moral Elements	81
4.1	Means and Standard Deviations By Group and Grade	100
4.2	Correlation Coefficients Among Seven Variables.	101
4.3	Simultaneous Multiple Regression Analysis	103
4.4	Summary of Issue Choice By Group	106
4.5	Summary of Norms Valued By Interview for Typical Peers	109
4.6	Summary of Norms Valued By Interview for Students with EBD .	110
4.7	By Group Summary of Moral Elements and Value Elements	114
4.8	Moral Orientation By Group	120

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
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By

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Moral education is the cornerstone of public education with the classroom community providing the environment in which students learn to think and act as morally responsible citizens. While most students seem to benefit from the moral lessons taught in the classroom, students with emotional/behavioral disorders (EBD) are placed in special education specifically because they do not. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to employ a cognitive-developmental approach to examine moral reasoning in 3rd, 4th, and 5th grade students with EBD and their typical peers. Specifically, I collected and analyzed data to address the following hypothesis. When accounting for the variables gender, ethnicity, trait anger, reading comprehension, socioeconomic status (SES), atypical/typical group, and grade, there will be a significant positive relationship between reading comprehension and moral theme comprehension and a significant negative relationship between trait anger and moral theme comprehension.

Results of the correlation analyses showed that ethnicity, SES, reading comprehension, and trait anger were significantly related to students' ability to comprehend moral themes in stories. When accounting for all seven independent variables, however, only trait anger was found to be a significant predictor of respondents' scores. Case study results indicated that the reasoning of informants with EBD and many of their typical peers with low SES appeared to be self-focused, while only two middle-income typical peers voiced other-focused moral judgements. These results seem to question the sufficiency of the developmental process to direct the development of children's moral judgement and suggest that experience may play a more influential role in its development.

Results indicate that the meaningful inclusion of all children in the learning community may be vital to the formation of responsible citizens and may prevent the development of EBD for some children. To understand the importance of including all students in the learning community, preservice teacher preparation should include the study ethics and preservice teachers should be given opportunities to participate in democratic learning communities. Future research should include rigorous inquiries into the causal relationships among behavior, emotion, and moral judgement, but such inquiries will require the development of valid measures of emotion, behavior, and moral judgement.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

Moral education is the cornerstone of America's public education system. Historian Edward McClellan (1999) described the moral education of America's children as an "article of faith" central to the creation of the public education and, in 1916, philosopher John Dewey proclaimed schools as environments framed with the expressed purpose of shaping children's mental and moral dispositions. Although moral education was originally conceived as an extension of the moral training children received at home (McClellan), modern supporters of moral education charge that the school, not the family, bears the responsibility for developing a moral citizenry. According to Emile Durkheim (1961)

> [T]he general principle that the domain of the genuinely moral life only begins where the collective life begins--or, in other words, that we are moral beings only to the extent that we are social beings. (p. 64) . . . The family, especially today, is a very small group of persons who know each other intimately and who are constantly in contact with one another. As a result, their relationships are not subject to any general, impersonal, immutable regulation. (p. 147)

Hence, the classroom community becomes an appropriate, naturally occurring context in which students can learn to think and act as morally responsible citizens.

While most students seem to benefit from the moral lessons experienced in the classroom community, students with emotional/behavioral disorders (EBD) are placed in special education specifically because they do not (Kauffman, 1995). Since 1987, the number of students with EBD has increased by 20% and most of this increase occurred

during the elementary school years (Office of Special Education Programs [OSEP], 1998). Moreover, researchers warn that these figures may significantly underestimate the actual prevalence of EBD among elementary school children (Kauffman). In a recent report, OSEP addressed the import of this alarming trend by admonishing, "Failure to address the needs of students with emotional disturbance is a portent for poor community results as well as poor academic results" (OSEP, Section 11, Module 5, p. 41). The growing number of students who develop EBD during the elementary school years and the ensuing adverse individual and community consequences enjoin continued focused attention on the problem and its possible solutions.

Evidence suggests, however, that the school may be falling short of its responsibility to develop moral citizens when it come to the education of students with EBD. The warning signs of emerging antisocial behavior patterns are often present at the point of school entry and appear to be elaborated, not remediated, during the elementary school years (Golly, Sprague, Walker, & Groham, 2000). For example, young children who present significant behavior problems at age 3 or 4 have a 50:50 probability of continuing to show behavior problems as they mature (Webster-Stratton, 1997). In fact, researchers have found that the stability of aggressive and antisocial behavior, a common characteristic of students with EBD, is equal to that of IQ and provides the single best predictor of delinquency in adolescence (Walker, Colvin, & Ramsey, 1995).

Researchers project that failure to meet the moral and mental development needs of young children who exhibit antisocial and aggressive behavior may result in serious, life-altering consequences (Walker et al., 1995). The first of these life-altering consequences may occur when the child is designated eligible for a special education

program for students with EBD. Although the general education classroom has become the primary educative context for the general population of students with disabilities, students with EBD are more likely to be placed in the most restrictive educational settings (OSEP, 1998). For example, recent OSEP figures indicate that 55% of all students with disabilities are served in the general education classroom, but only 26% of students with EBD are included in the classrooms with their typical peers. Although 18% of all children with disabilities are served in special classrooms and only 2% are served in special facilities, 40% of students with EBD are served in separate classes and 12% are sequestered from the mainstream in special facilities. Moreover, as elementary students with EBD continue through school and beyond, their chances of reentering the general education classroom are slim (Kauffman, 1995) and they bear an increased risk for a variety of long term negative consequences such as school dropout, low employment rates, drug and alcohol abuse, relationship problems, higher hospitalization and mortality rates (Walker et al., 1995), and incarceration (U.S. Department of Education, 1994).

Researchers advise early intervention as a critical element in the prevention and effective treatment of EBD, but state that students with EBD are not benefiting from early intervention and prevention because serious emotional/behavioral problems are not identified early enough to prevent the chronic and likely life-long disability of EBD (e.g., Forness, Kavale, MacMillan, Asarnow, & Duncan, 1996; Kauffman, 1995) and general and special classroom environments are not adequate to meet the needs of children who present serious emotional/behavioral problems (e.g., Kauffman, Lloyd, Baker, & Riedel, 1995). Moreover, researchers warn that some children will develop EBD in spite of

educators' best efforts at early intervention and prevention (Landrum & Tankersley, 1999; Webster-Stratton, 1997).

Statement of the Problem

The classroom community may be falling short of its commission to positively influence the moral education of elementary students with EBD. The task, however, is complex and difficult to realize. An emotional/behavioral disorders is a multifaceted disability whose dimensions and developmental course are not clearly understood (Kauffman, 1995). Therefore, the sometimes elusive task of positively influencing their social behavior underscores the need to reexamine current approaches to the moral education of students with EBD and to explore the promise of employing a previously unexplored paradigm, the cognitive-developmental approach, to advance current knowledge and to improve practice.

Current Approaches

Special education programs for students with EBD began to develop rapidly in the late 1950s and early 1960s. During this time, researchers focused their efforts on the effectiveness of behavioral approaches that employed the principles of conditioning and learning to develop prosocial behavior in students with EBD (Kauffman, 1995). In the 1980s, behavioral models evolved into more sophisticated integrative approaches that address the realities of children's affective and cognitive experiences by exploring the effects of consequences on shaping behavior, thoughts, and affect (Kauffman). As a result, cognitive-behavioral approaches have recently gained prominence, especially in the study of aggression and antisocial behavior (Furlong & Smith, 1994; Kassinove, 1995).

Cognitive-behavioral researchers look to distorted cognition (Beck, 1976; Dodge & Coie, 1987; Ellis, 1995,) and/or social skill deficits (Davis & Boster, 1992; Deffenbacher & Swaim, 1999; Lochman, 1992; Spivack, Platt, & Shure, 1976) as sources of maladaptive behavior. The practical aim of this approach, therefore, is to replace distorted/deficit cognitive schemas with more effective ones through modeling, verbal rehearsal, practice, and feedback (e.g., Smith, Siegel, O'Connor, & Thomas, 1994). In addition, practitioners are encouraged to employ techniques such as self-instructional training, self-talk, and role play to facilitate the remediation and to enhance generalization to other settings (e.g., Lockman, Lampron, Gemmer, & Harris, 1987). Consistent with behavioral approaches, however, the learner is portrayed as a passive participant and the environment is "a major source of influence on behavior" as a result of biological "processes that are collectively called conditioning or learning" (Johnston & Pennypacker, 1993, p. 4).

During this same time period, proponents of behavior analytic approaches also began to shift their focus toward examining thoughts as private events shaped by the principles of conditioning and learning. These researchers took aim at the communicative intent of maladaptive behavior as well as its environmental triggers to explain the functional relationship between behavior and its consequences. As a result, functional assessment gained such prominence in the treatment of EBD that the 1997 amendments to IDEA require functional behavioral assessments for any student with a disability who exhibits maladaptive behavior (e.g., Armstrong & Kauffman, 1999). The outcome of the functional assessment is a behavior intervention plan that represents the school's good

faith effort to maintain students with disabilities in the general education classroom (Yell, 1998).

Over the last fifty years, researchers have found both behavioral and cognitive behavioral approaches to be effective in shaping prosocial behavior in students with behavioral problems (cf. Cameron & Pierce, 1994; Robinson, Smith, Miller, & Brownell, 1999). Nevertheless, researchers have also defined several important limitations to these approaches (Webster-Stratton, 1997). When practically applied, researchers have found that (a) many teachers are opposed to some behavior modification procedures (e.g., Kazdin & Cole, 1981), (b) behavior shaped using the principles of behavior modification may not generalize to natural settings (e.g., Cullinan, Epstein, & Lloyd, 1991; Kauffman, 1995), (c) functional assessment may be too difficult to implement in classrooms (e.g., Katsiyannis & Maag, 1998), (d) some cognitive-behavioral approaches may be too sophisticated for young children (Webster-Stratton), and (e) behavioral and cognitive-behavioral approaches may not alter the environment that is nurturing the development of EBD (e.g., Webster-Stratton).

Additionally, researchers have found that classrooms are not characterized by the kind of positive strategies known to be effective in shaping prosocial behavior; therefore, they speculate that the classroom environment itself may contribute to the development of EBD (e.g., Kauffman et al., 1995). For example, teachers frequently become highly critical of misbehaving students, thereby engaging in coercive power struggles. As a result, teachers fall victim to negative reinforcement traps and may unintentionally perpetuate undesirable behavior (e.g., Jack et al., 1996; Webster-Stratton, 1997). For this reason, researchers suggest that some approaches based on behavioral principles may be

inappropriate for classroom settings (e.g., Jack et al.; Repucci & Saunders, 1974; Shores, Gunter, Denny, & Jack, 1993; Shores, Gunter, & Jack, 1993; Winett & Winkler, 1972).

The Student With EBD

The emotional and behavioral concomitants of EBD are explicit in the nomenclature, but, according to the federal definition, EBD is a multifaceted, complex disorder that involves maladaptive behavior, disordered affect, or disorder cognition (Kauffman, 1995). According to federal law, students with EBD are characterized by one or more of the following: (a) an inability to learn which cannot be explained by intellectual, sensory, or health factors, (b) an inability to maintain satisfactory interpersonal relationships with peers and teachers, (c) inappropriate types of behavior or feelings under normal circumstances, (d) a general, pervasive mood of unhappiness or depression, and (e) a tendency to develop physical symptoms or fears associated with person or school problems (Individuals with Disabilities Act [IDEA], 1997). Therefore, to understand the student with EBD, one must examine how these behavioral, emotional, and cognitive components are manifested in the disorder.

Behavior. According to Kauffman (1995), EBD is partially represented in maladaptive behavior that is discordant with social-interpersonal environments and precludes opportunities for gratifying social interactions and experiences of self-fulfillment. Externalizing disorders such as attention and activity disorders and conduct disorders make up the most prevalent types of EBD and characteristically include maladaptive behavior in the form of aggression, disruption, and antisocial behavior (Kauffman; Kauffman, Culllinan, & Epstein, 1987). Aggressive, disruptive, antisocial students arouse negative feelings and induce negative behavior in others, resulting in

social rejection and alienation from adults and peers alike. In fact, the behavior of these students can be so unreasonable that others sometimes perceive their motives as purposefully seeking punishment or rebuke (Kauffman). As members of the classroom community, teachers regard children with externalizing disorders to be the most difficult to teach, the least likable (Kauffman & Wong, 1991), and a threat to the development of a secure, safe classroom environment (Langdon, 1997).

Emotion. Federal law portrays the disordered affective component of EBD as "physical symptoms or fears" or "a general, pervasive mood of unhappiness or depression," suggesting that depression and/or anxiety are the primary affective characteristics of EBD. Although depression and anxiety are frequent emotional concomitants of internalizing disorders such as obsessive-compulsive disorders, anxiety disorders, clinical depression, and schizophrenia (Kauffman, 1995), researchers commonly recognize anger as the underlying affective component of externalizing disorders (Walker et al., 1995). Anger in children, however, has received little attention from the research community (e.g., Fabes & Eisenberg, 1992).

Anger and cognition are mysteriously woven together in the existing research literature. Novaco (1975) conceived a reciprocal relationship between cognition and anger. Current models, however, portray anger as a mediating influence between distorted/deficit cognition and aggressive behavior. For example, cognitive-behavioral researchers treat aggression by reducing attributional biases of hostile intent (e.g., Dodge & Coie, 1987; Fortman & Feldman, 1994; Lochman et al., 1987) and cognitive distortions (e.g., Ellis, 1995), while behavior analytic researchers seek to identify and change the objective elicitor and consequences of anger (Kassinove & Sukhodolsky,

1995). If, however, the relationship between anger and cognition is reciprocal, then current approaches appear to be limited because they do not allow for anger as a justified response to an unjust, hurtful situation. From this perspective, anger might precede disordered cognitive functioning and aggressive, disruptive, and/or antisocial behavior (Enright & Fitzgibbons, 2000). In fact, Kassinove and Sukhodolsky state that to understand anger, researchers "would be wise to learn how people form their conceptualizations of how their friends, family members, colleagues, and others should act" (p. 24).

Cognition. Although maladaptive behavior and disordered affect are described as defining manifestations of EBD, they are not the only determining characteristic. According to the federal definition disordered cognition is also an influential determinant of EBD (Kauffman, 1995). For example, the definition describes EBD "as an inability to learn that cannot be explained by intellectual, sensory, or health factors," "the inability to build or maintain satisfactory interpersonal relationships," "inappropriate behavior or feelings under normal circumstances," "a general pervasive mood of unhappiness or depression," and "a tendency to develop physical symptoms or fears." Thus, by definition, EBD appears to be deeply rooted in the cognitive domain.

Present conceptions of best practice in the education of students with EBD suggest that remediation of distorted/deficit thinking processes is necessary to mitigate the cognitive dysfunction inherent in EBD (Kauffman, 1995). In other words, the child's thinking must be remediated because the child's reality is distorted. In contrast, the cognitive developmental approach targets the child's reasoning as a lived reality, constructed as the child perfects tentative solutions for a problematic situations (Dewey,

1916/1944). Therefore, the child's reasoning reflects a complex interaction between judgement and action (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a; Piaget, 1932/1965) and provides knowledge about the bearings, uses, and causes of the situation as the child knows it to be (Dewey). Overt behavior influences judgement; judgement influences behavior (Colby & Kohlberg). Both the child and the environment become actors in the meaning making process.

The Cognitive-Developmental Approach

Current issues and trends in the education of students with EBD enjoin a heightened level of attention to the empirical and conceptual foundations of special education (Kauffman, 1995). By employing a cognitive-developmental approach, researchers are provided an opportunity to conceptualize and examine EBD from a previously unexplored perspective. From this perspective, researchers can study the thinking of students with EBD as an expression of a subjective reality, couched in the developmental process (Coby & Kohlberg, 1987a; Piaget, 1932/1965). As a result, researchers might extend current knowledge about EBD and its treatment and, at the same time, broaden the conceptual foundations of special education.

Piaget (1932/1965), the father of cognitive-developmental psychology (Siegler, 1998), advised that if we want to form moral men and women, we must study the laws that govern their formation. With this advice, he enjoined researchers to begin the inquiry by examining the development of morality in children. Piaget argued that a child's actions do not reveal the child's motivations and urged researchers to move beyond merely observing how precise the child is in respecting rules and examine "how [the child] judges of [sic] good and evil in the performance of his own action" (p. 117). How

children think and feel about their behavior is as much a part of social behavior as is the most overt cooperative or hostile act (Dewey, 1916/1944). The relationship between reasoning and behavior, however, continues to be obscure (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a). Moreover, Piaget asserted that "Difficult children, whom parents and teachers send or ought to send up for psycho-therapeutic treatment, supply the richest material for analysis" (p. 112).Yet only two studies (Astor, 1994; Astor & Behre, 1997) have been published that examined the reasoning processes of elementary children with EBD.

According to Higgins (1995), the guiding assumption of cognitive-developmental theory is that children create knowledge as a result of a bi-directional relationship between thinking and experience. From this perspective, the child is portrayed as an active participant in the creation of a subjective reality whose dimensions are described in the child's verbal reasoning. Therefore, moral development researchers study children's verbal reasoning because it can provide insight into past experiences and thinking, as well as present perceptions of how actions and consequences are connected.

The present study was designed to employ a cognitive developmental approach to examine the relationships among cognition, emotion, and behavior. I included elementary aged students because the number of students with EBD seems to increase rapidly during the elementary years (OSEP, 1998), 3rd – 5th grade present the best opportunity for intervention (e.g., Walker et al., 1995), and mid to late elementary years provide a context for rapid growth in the development of moral judgement (Piaget, 1932/1965). Because the population of students with EBD is characterized by a disproportionate number of African American males and students with low SES (Kauffman, 1995), I included gender, SES, and ethnicity in my analyses. I also included reading

comprehension as a cognitive variable, trait anger as an emotional variable, and the student's grade in school to gauge developmental change.

Purpose and Objectives of the Study

The aim of the present study is examine moral reasoning in 3rd, 4th, and 5th grade students with EBD using a cognitive developmental approach. The results should provide valuable information about the developmental course of moral reasoning in elementary children with EBD and provide depth to current understanding about the relationships among moral reasoning (cognition), trait anger (emotion), and disordered behavior. Specifically, I collected and analyzed data to address the following research hypothesis: When accounting for the variables gender, ethnicity, trait anger, reading comprehension, SES, atypical/typical group, and grade, there will be a significant positive relationship between reading comprehension and moral theme comprehension and a significant negative relationship between trait anger and moral theme comprehension.

Rationale

The purpose of the present study is to provide depth to current understanding about the relationships among moral reasoning, trait anger, and disordered behavior by examining how moral reasoning in elementary students with EBD differs from that of typical peers. Because EBD is a complex disability, it presents a unique opportunity to increase knowledge about the relationships among behavior, emotion, and cognition. Although only a few researchers have examined moral reasoning in elementary children with EBD (Astor, 1994; Astor & Behre, 1997, Hardman & Smith, 2001), many have examined moral reasoning in typical populations of elementary children charting its

developmental course (e.g., Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a; Piaget, 1932/1965) and evaluating the influence of culture (e.g., Gilligan, 1982; Shweder, Nahapatra, & Miller, 1987).

Cognition

Piaget (1932/1965) described changes in children's moral reasoning as a cognitively structured, maturational progression. Subsequent research, however, has demonstrated that poverty (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a), reading comprehension (Narvaez, Gleason, Mitchell, & Bently, 1999), gender (Gilligan, 1982) and ethnicity (Edwards, 1987) may also influence the structural characteristics and maturational progression of moral reasoning. Interestingly, students with EBD are overly represented by low socioeconomic, African American males and as a population exhibit a slower rate of achievement (Kauffman, 1995). Therefore, a review of researchers' findings regarding the relationships among reading comprehension, poverty, SES, and ethnicity and moral reasoning is warranted.

Reading comprehension. Studies of moral reasoning in the general population and cross-culturally suggest that low achieving individuals will also exhibit depressed or stagnant maturation in moral reasoning. For example, in a longitudinal study of moral judgement in U.S. males, Colby, Kohlberg, Gibbs, and Lieberman (1987) found that although age accounted for 60% of the variance in scores, there was also a moderate relationship between the maturation of moral judgement and achievement. Further examination of the results revealed, however, that differences in IQ and SES seemed to control the strength of this relationship; therefore, the relationship between achievement and moral reasoning appeared to be mediated through IQ and SES differences.

Recently, Narvaez and her coauthors (1999) studied moral reasoning in 3rd, 5th, and university students by assessing their ability to understand themes of cooperation in moral stories. Narvaez and her colleagues found that reading achievement and reading comprehension were significantly related to participants' understanding of moral themes of cooperation; however, when reading comprehension was controlled, the relationship between moral theme comprehension and maturation remained significant. Therefore, these authors concluded that while moral theme comprehension is related to reading comprehension, participants' understanding of moral themes of cooperation seems to require something beyond reading comprehension.

Socioeconomic status (SES). Colby, Kohlberg, Gibbs, and Lieberman (1987) found that individuals who live in poverty reason at lower stages of maturation. These authors interpreted the finding of social class differences in rate and terminus of development in moral reasoning as a reflection of differential participation in and identification with society and its institutions. Differential participation in social institutions creates differential role-taking opportunities for middle-class and working class children. Therefore, individuals from the middle class experience the role of cooperative participants in society and, as a result, develop a social system perspective that characterizes higher stages of reasoning (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a). In a pilot study of moral reasoning in elementary students with EBD, Hardman and Smith (2001) found a significant difference in the ability of students with low SES to detect moral themes in stories when compared with peers from middle and upper income families. Because SES and EBD were confounded, these authors reached no conclusions regarding the influence of EBD on moral reasoning. These findings seem to support the hypothesis that poverty

presents circumstances in which democratic education may be inconsistently applied and opportunities for developing a moral disposition may be differentially perceived (Colby & Kohlberg; Dewey, 1916/1944).

Gender/culture. Social constructivists propose the development of moral reasoning as an entirely social phenomenon, arguing that the norms and values that guide a child's moral reasoning are culturally dependent (Kurtines & Gewirtz, 1995). Furthermore, social constructivists charge that stage theories preference the individualistically focused values and norms of Western cultures and relegate reasoning that preferences communitarian ideals to lower developmental stages (e.g., Brown, Tappan, & Gilligan, 1995; Gilligan 1982; Shweder et al., 1987). For example, Gilligan, a feminist critic of stage theories, found that moral reasoning in females is more likely to be grounded in communitarian ideals that are nurtured by women's unique cultural role as care givers. She argued that the Piagetian/Kohlbergian framework misinterprets the stage development represented in a communitarian orientation as deficient when, in fact, this orientation is only different.

Behavior

The nature of the relationship between reasoning and behavior in children under the age of 12 is, for the most part, unexplored territory. Piaget (1932/1965) hypothesized that children's moral reasoning represents a gradual coming into consciousness of past actions; therefore, moral reasoning must lag behind moral action. Moreover, Colby and Kohlberg (1987a) conjectured that as individuals attain more mature stages of reasoning, they are more likely to demonstrate higher levels of moral behavior. These researchers explained that the principles that guide higher stages of moral reasoning (e.g., it is wrong

to harm others) are unalterable and universal; therefore, moral relativism is not possible and moral action ensues. Principled reasoning obligates moral behavior. On the other hand, moral realism premised on conventional morals (i.e., cultural rules about dress, sexual behavior, social behavior) encourages moral relativism because conventional morals may be altered to suit the egoistic demands of a situation. Thus, conventional morality is not always obligatory (Colby & Kohlberg).

According to Gibbs (1995), egocentric biases and moral realism are the primary indicators of lower stages of moral reasoning and appear to be natural to early childhood. The persistence of egocentrism into adolescence, however, may render the individual at high-risk for serious antisocial behavior. Because egocentrism precludes meaningful perspective taking, egocentric biases preempt any consideration for the expectations and feelings of others. Therefore, egocentric, antisocial adolescents can develop moral realism (rule oriented behavior) only with respect to their own needs, wants, and desires. When compliance does not meet selfish needs, rule breaking is justified. Their thinking is similar to that of a five-year-old, but because their size, needs, and level of freedom are vastly different, egocentric biases in their moral reasoning present a clear danger.

Hardman and Smith (2001) examined moral reasoning in 21 students with EBD and found that these students experienced greater difficulty comprehending moral themes in stories than did their typical peers. This finding was supported and elaborated as a result of an analysis of moral dilemma interviews with three students selected from the participant sample of students with EBD. As a result, these authors found informants' moral judgements to be replete with expressions of moral realism and egocentric biases. The authors caution, however, that EBD and SES were confounded; therefore, the effects

for EBD could not be evaluated independent of the effects for SES. This finding bears preliminary theoretical and empirical significance about the relationship between moral reasoning and behavior and warrants further inquiry (Hardman & Smith).

Emotion

Anger. In most cases, anger is assumed to underlie the observable antisocial, aggressive, and disruptive behaviors that limit social interactions of elementary students with EBD (Kauffman, 1995; Walker et al., 1995). Aggressive, disruptive, antisocial behavior arouses negative feelings and induces negative behavior in others, resulting in social rejection and alienation from adults and peers (Kauffman). Anger, therefore, appears to provide a motivational limit to the moral socialization of many students with EBD (Gibbs, 1995).

Definition. Anger is a complex emotion (e.g., Deffenbacher & Swaim, 1999) that, until recently, has received little attention from the research community (e.g., Boekaerts, 1993; Fabes & Eisenberg, 1992; Murphy & Eisenberg, 1996). Anger is defined as an emotional response to perceived threats, insults, frustration, injustice (Lehnert, Overholser, & Spirito, 1994), intentional harm (Levine, 1995) or conflicts (Murphy & Eisenberg) and may represent a temporary emotional state or a personality trait (Jacobs, Phelps, & Rohrs, 1989). Students with externalizing disorders may experience such intense chronic anger that their angry feelings reach beyond state anger and may signify an anger disorder (Kassinove, 1995) or personality trait (e.g., Deffenbacher, Lynch, Oetting, & Kemper, 1996; Walker et al. 1995), thereby adversely affecting the quality of a child's social interactions.

Anger, however, is not always a sign of disordered affect. On the contrary, anger may represent a normal emotional response in many instances. For example, anger is a common denominator in situations in which children believe their personal values, including those of fairness and justice, are challenged (Boekaerts, 1993) and represents a culturally normative response to discrimination and injustice for minority youth (Stevenson, Reed, Bodison, & Bishop, 1997). Conversely, years of discrimination and injustice may also result in such serious assaults on personal values that perceptions of injustice may become a source of intense, destructive trait anger (Chan, 1994).

Anger and other emotions. Recent research aimed at clarifying the relationship between anger and other emotions has defined anger as a mysterious, complex emotion that may play an instrumental role in the developmental course of other emotions, such as depression (Berkowitz, 1990; Clay, Anderson, & Dixon, 1993; Enright & Fitzgibbons, 2000; Heavey, Adelman, Nelson, & Smith, 1989; Levine, 1995) and anxiety (Deffenbacher et al., 1996; Hains & Szyjakowski, 1990). For example, Enright and Fitzgibbons highlight cases in which anger emerges as an intense response to extreme circumstances of injustice such as sexual, physical, or mental abuse and represents a precursor to the onset of intense depression, poor health, and antisocial behavior. Moreover, these authors argue that, in these cases, anger must be resolved before the destructive emotional, physical, and behavioral expressions of anger can be effectively addressed.

Anger and cognition. Cognitive models of emotion suggest that people's emotions depend less upon actual events and more upon people's interpretations of those events (e.g., Dodge & Coie, 1987; Levine, 1995); therefore, children's use of morally relevant

information may be an important moderating influence on children's tendencies to become angry. Simply stated, the expression of anger signals moral judgement (Olthof, Ferguson, & Luiten, 1989). For example, researchers have found that (a) violent children show lower empathy and insight, leading to concerns over issues of fair play and evoking aggressive responses (Davis & Boster, 1992), (b) ego development seems to be inversely correlated with sadness and anger in emotionally disturbed adolescents (Hauser & Safyer, 1994), (c) students diagnosed as having significant learning disabilities exhibit higher levels of anger and misbehavior when compared to those without learning problems (Heavey et al., 1989), and (d) children who exhibit externalizing disorders become aggressive because they misinterpret the intentions of others and are unable to manage or cope with the situation in appropriate ways (e.g., Deffenbacher et al. 1996; Lockman, 1992).

Anger and socialization. Researchers have found evidence to indicate that there is a significant relationship between anger and social competency. For example, Murphy and Eisenberg (1996) examined the angry conflicts of 108 elementary aged children and found that social competency predicts anger intensity even when controlling for sex, age, and causes of angry conflicts. Downey, Lebolt, Rincon, and Freitas (1998) studied rejection sensitivity and its relationship to anger and found that poor and minority children who angrily expected social rejection behave more aggressively, experience increased interpersonal difficulties, and decline in academic learning over time. Moreover, Fabes and Eisenberg (1992) found that young children who were relatively low in social status and competence seemed to "invite" aggressive rejecting conflict and

that popular, socially competent children were less likely to be involved in angry conflicts.

Definition of Terms

Accommodation

Accommodation refers to the way in which individuals adapt their ways of thinking when presented with new experiences. For example, an extreme case of accommodation is imitation (Siegler, 1998).

Assimilation

Assimilation is the way individuals transform or interpret information to fit within their existing way of thinking. If individuals are not able to understand new information in concert with existing ways of thinking, then they cannot form a meaningful representation of the new material. An extreme case of assimilation is fantasy play. Accommodation cannot be present without assimilation and vice versa (Siegler, 1998).

Autonomous Morality

Autonomous morality is characterized by an independent, self-legislative stance when making moral judgements (Piaget, 1932/1965).

Cognitive-Developmental Approach

The cognitive-developmental approach posits that an individual's thinking undergoes a series of transformations as a result of an interaction between heredity and experience (Kertines & Gerwitz, 1995). These transformations occur in universal, invariant stages (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a) and are facilitated by the basic developmental processes of assimilation, accommodation, and equilibration (Siegler, 1998).

Constructivism

Constructivism refers to individuals' ability to construct meaning for themselves by thinking about and acting on the world. When individuals invent or construct new responses to each novel situation, the form of the meaning constructed is constrained by the individual's current developmental level. Therefore, the present mode of construction is an outgrowth of the prior mode. Individuals cannot simply internalize higher stage reasoning, but instead are only able to move forward to the logical next step of cognitive reorganization (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a).

Distributive Justice

Distributive justice means to deal an equal, proper share to each group or individual (Piaget, 1932/1965).

Deontic Reasoning

Deontic reasoning refers to what is right or duty bound and does not encompass other types of ethical judgements such as judgements of moral worth or virtue of particular persons or actions, judgements about the goodness of lifestyle, or judgements about ideals of the good life (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a).

Egocentrism

Egocentrism refers to a way of thinking about the external world in terms of one's own perspective. This psychological limitation can be found in the thinking of many children between the ages of 2 and 7 (Siegler, 1998).

Emotional/Behavioral Disorders (EBD)

Emotionally disturbed is defined as follows:

> (i) The term means a condition exhibiting one or more of the following characteristics over a long period of time and to a marked degree, which adversely affects educational performance:
>
> > (A) An inability to learn which cannot be explained by intellectual, sensory, or health factors; (B) An inability to build or maintain satisfactory interpersonal relationships with peers and teachers; (C) Inappropriate types of behavior or feelings under normal circumstances; (D) A general, pervasive mood of unhappiness or depression; or (E) A tendency to develop physical symptoms or fears associated with personal or school problems.
>
> (ii) The term includes children who are schizophrenic. The term does not include children who are socially maladjusted, unless it is determined that they are seriously emotionally disturbed. (34 C.F.R. § 300.7 [b][9][1997])

Equilibration

Equilibration refers to the overall interaction between existing ways of thinking and new experience. It is the essential element of developmental change. Equilibration involves a three-phase process. First, equilibration is represented in a state of satisfaction with present modes of thought. Then, the individual becomes aware of shortcomings in their existing thinking and is dissatisfied. Finally, through assimilation and accommodation, the individual adopts a more sophisticated mode of thought that eliminates the shortcomings of the old one; that is, the individual reaches equilibrium (Siegler, 1998).

Expiatory Punishment

Punishment employed to extract payment from wrong doers for their bad behavior (Piaget, 1932/1965).

Heteronomous Morality

Moral behavior that is subject to external forces or controls (Piaget, 1932/1965).

Moral Dilemma

A moral dilemma is a story that poses a conflict in values. Perceptions and ideas generated in response to moral dilemmas represent the individual's constitutive knowledge about the bearings, uses, and causes of the situation (Dewey, 1916/1944). For example, the Heinz dilemma is a story about a man who must steal drug to save his wife's life. Hence, this story poses a conflict between the value of preserving life and the value of upholding the law (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a).

Moral Judgement

A moral judgement is an imperative derived from some rule or principle of action that the speaker believes is binding on his own actions. Moral judgements include (a) judgements of value, not fact; (b) social judgements involving people; (c) prescriptive or normative judgements, and (d) value judgements of rights and responsibilities, rather than value judgements of liking and preference (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a).

Moral Reasoning

To perfect a tentative solution for a problematic situation, individuals will carefully scrutinize existing conditions and the implications of various hypotheses. This operation is called reasoning (Dewey, 1916/1944). Moral reasoning refers to the hypothesis constructed when reasoning in the moral domain.

Phenomenalism

Phenomenalism refers to the development of moral judgement as an expression of an individual's subjective reality that is developed through a complex interaction between judgement and action. Causality is bidirectional. Overt behavior influences moral beliefs; moral beliefs influence behavior (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a).

Retributive Justice

Retributive justice requires "pay back" in equal measure. An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth is an example of retributive justice (Piaget, 1932/1965).

Structuralism

Structuralism refers to the general organizing principles or patterns of thought rather than specific moral beliefs or opinions. According to Colby and Kohlberg (1987a) concepts are not learned or used independently of one another, but are bound together by common structural features. A pattern of connections, a structure or set of relations and transformations, develop within the subject's meaning. Therefore, structuralism is the hermeneutic that guides the analysis of the organization of thought inherent in the individual's responses to moral dilemmas.

Delimitations of the Study

The present study was designed to employ a cognitive developmental approach to examine the relationships moral reasoning (cognition), trait anger (emotion), and behavior. I included elementary aged students because the number of students with EBD seems to increase rapidly during the elementary years (OSEP, 1998), 3rd – 5th grade present the best opportunity for intervention (e.g., Walker et al., 1995), and mid to late elementary years provide a context for rapid growth in the development of moral judgement (Piaget, 1932/1965). Sampling procedures took place in two moderately sized school districts (approximately 27,000 - 30,000 students) in rural, Central Florida. I purposively selected a sample of 12 students from the participant sample to participate in moral dilemma interviews.

Limitations of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine moral reasoning in 3rd, 4th, and 5th grade students with EBD. I implemented a causal correlational research design, using sampling procedures and statistical methods that yield generalizable results to the population of 3rd, 4th, and 5th grade students with EBD and their typical peers in the two rural school districts from which they were selected. The findings cannot be generalized to students at other grade levels or to students with disabilities other than EBD. The results of case study research are not generalizable to other students and informants' prescriptions about what should be done may not predict the choices they make in natural settings. Additional specific methodological constraints are described in Chapter III.

Summary

Efforts at prevention and intervention have failed to stem the increasing numbers of students who develop EBD during the elementary school years. Since the inception of special education classes for students with EBD in the 1950s, researchers and practitioners have focused intervention and prevention efforts on the effectiveness of behavioral and cognitive-behavioral approaches to meet the needs of students with EBD. Proponents of these approaches assume that the principles of learning and conditioning are the primary influences that shape behavior, cognition, and emotion and attribute importance to environmental forces as the active influence on the learning process (e.g., Kauffman, 1995). In contrast, the cognitive developmental approach presents the child as an active participant in creating a subjective, lived reality (e.g., Dewey, 1916/1944; Piaget, 1932/1965) and allows for the study of EBD as a manifestation of a complex interaction among cognition, emotion, and behavior.

The present study was designed to employ a cognitive developmental approach to examine the relationships among moral reasoning (cognition), trait anger (emotion), and behavior by targeting the development of moral reasoning in elementary students with EBD. I included elementary aged students because the number of students with EBD seems to increase rapidly during the elementary years (OSEP, 1998), 3rd – 5th grade present the best opportunity for intervention (e.g., Walker et al., 1995), and mid to late elementary years provide a context for rapid growth in the development of moral judgement (Piaget, 1932/1965). Because the population of students with EBD is characterized by a disproportionate number of African American males and students with low SES (Kauffman, 1995), I included gender, SES, and ethnicity in my analyses. I also included reading comprehension as a cognitive variable, trait anger as an emotional variable, and the student's grade in school to gauge developmental change.

Because of the complexity of the disability, EBD present a unique opportunity to increase current knowledge about the complex relationships among behavior, emotion, and cognition and the influence of each of these elements on the development of morality. Cognitive-developmental researchers have examined moral reasoning in typical populations of elementary children charting its developmental course (e.g., Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a; Piaget, 1932/1965) and evaluating the influence of culture (e.g., Gilligan, 1982; Shweder et al., 1987). On the other hand, the relationship between moral reasoning and emotional/behavioral influences has received little attention. I found only two studies (Astor, 1994; Astor & Behre, 1997) that examined moral reasoning in students with EBD.

Overview of Remaining Chapters

In the remaining chapters, I further elaborate the theoretical framework, review the relevant literature, describe the methods, report the results, and discuss the implications of the findings. In Chapter II, I describe the theoretical framework of the cognitive developmental approach and review the literature relevant to the development of moral reasoning in typical and atypical populations. Chapter III provides a detailed description of a pilot study and describes the research design, the setting and participants, data gathering instruments, and the research procedures employed to implement the study. In Chapter IV, I relate the results and in Chapter V, I synthesize the findings and discuss the implications for researchers and practitioners.

CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Chapter II provides a synthesis of the literature on children's moral development from a cognitive developmental perspective. I begin by relating the theoretical assumptions that undergird the cognitive-developmental approach, followed by a review of Piaget's seminal study (1932/1965). I then review Colby and Kohlberg's (1987) reiteration of the theoretical assumptions and describe how these authors refined and expanded Piaget's structural, or stage theory of moral development. Finally, I review subsequent research, discussing both support for and challenges to the cognitive-developmental conceptualization of the development of morality in elementary aged children, giving detailed attention to the studies that investigated the seven independent variables (i.e., gender, grade, ethnicity, atypical/typical behavior, trait anger, SES, and reading comprehension) targeted in the present study.

Theory Development

The cognitive developmental perspective of children's moral development assumes that children create knowledge as a result of a bi-directional relationship between thinking and experience. When children see that a certain way of acting and its consequence are connected, but they do not know how they are connected, reasoning becomes an intentional endeavor to discover specific connections between the things children do and the ensuing consequences (Dewey, 1916/1944). By examining children's reasoning processes, the researcher seeks insight into past experiences and thinking, as

well as their present perceptions of how actions and consequences are connected (Higgins, 1995; Siegler, 1998).

Piaget's Theory

Assuming a cognitive-developmental perspective about the creation of knowledge, Piaget (1952) set forth three psychological processes that facilitate children's progression toward higher levels of knowing: assimilation, accommodation, and equilibration. According to Piaget, assimilation is the psychological process that defines the way children transform incoming information so that it fits their existing way of thinking. When new information is assimilated, children are able to form a meaningful representation of the new material, but if new information can not be assimilated, the meaning making process is thwarted. Siegler (1998) presents pretend play as an extreme case of assimilation. When children pretend, they gloss over the physical characteristics of objects and treat them as if they are what the children are momentarily interpreting them to be. In contrast, Piaget presented accommodation as the psychological process that defines the way children adapt their ways of thinking to new experiences. For example, Siegler uses imitation as an extreme case of accommodation. When children imitate, they minimize their interpretations and simply mimic what they see. According to Piaget, assimilation and accommodation mutually influence each other, and assimilation is never present without accommodation and vice versa.

Equilibration refers to the overall interaction between existing ways of thinking and experience and is accomplished in three phases. First, children are satisfied with their present mode of thought and are in a state of equilibrium. When they are confronted with shortcomings in their present thinking, dissatisfaction or a state of disequilibrium,

develops. To restore a state equilibrium, children adopt a more sophisticated mode of thought that eliminates the shortcomings of the old way of thinking (Piaget, 1952). In this manner, equilibration provides the impetus for maturation.

Piaget's Study

In 1932, Piaget conducted a study of children's moral reasoning, employing a methodology and establishing a theory firmly grounded in the epistemological assumptions of cognitive-developmental psychology. Assuming that children construct their moral realities as a result of their mental and physical actions, Piaget (1932/1965) examined how nature, or the maturational process, and experience influence children's understanding of morality.

"All morality consists in a system of rules, and the essence of all morality is to be sought for in the respect which the individual acquires for these rules" (Piaget, 1932/1965, p. 13). Because adults teach children the rules for moral behavior, moral rules are developed, not by children, but by a succession of generations (Dewey, 1916/1944) and are transmitted to children before they are conscious of obligation (Piaget). To make this developing consciousness visible, Piaget studied children's understanding of the rules of the game of marbles because the rules of children's games are consciously developed and elaborated by children. Specifically, Piaget targeted two phenomena to observe: (a) practice; that is, the way in which children of different ages apply rules and (b) consciousness; that is, whether they are obligatory and sacred or a matter of choice.

The rules of children's games. Piaget's (1932/1965) subjects were infants to 12-year olds living in Geneva and Neuchatel, Switzerland. He began by observing and noting children's variations in rule application and, then, he questioned them about

fairness of these variations. As a result, Piaget described four developmental stages that define children's practice of rules: sensorimotor, egocentric, cooperation, and codification of rules. Moreover, through the practice of rules, children develop a consciousness of rules, or an understanding of the source of the obligatory, in three stages: nonmoral; heteronomous morality; and autonomous morality.

The sensorimotor stage lasts from birth to approximately two years. During this stage, children merely engage in sensorimotor explorations of a game's accoutrements without regard for rules. Thus, stage 1 children are not conscience of moral obligations and are described as nonmoral.

The sensorimotor stage is followed by the egocentric stage. At about age 2, children enter a developmental period during which their thinking is limited by egocentrism. Egocentric children think about the external world always in terms of their own perspective and their own position within it (Siegler, 1998). Stage 2 children can recite rules and state a respect for rules but, in practice, apply rules to suit their egocentric wants and desires. Because of egocentrism, stage 2 children perceive the obligatory as coerced by authority figures and entirely externally imposed. Moral realism develops, leading to the practice of a heteronomous morality, a morality dependent on external sources of obligation.

At about age 6, children develop a perspective of cooperation and enter the cooperation stage. Egocentrism begins to lose its control on children's thinking allowing insight into others' perspectives. This perspective taking ability predisposes them to an attitude of cooperation even though moral realism persists. In fact, Piaget (1932/1965) noted that stage 3 children accept rules with "mystic respect . . . [R]ules are eternal, due

to the authority of parents, of the Gentlemen of the Commune, and even of an almighty God" (p. 61). Thus, stage 3 children continue to view obedience to authority as a primary moral obligation; rules are sacred, untouchable and last forever.

At about age 10, experiences of cooperation with other children and authority usher in an understanding of the rational rule, one that is self-imposed through mutual consent. This move toward rationalism begins at about age 10 and signals the child's transition into stage 4, the codification of rules stage. By age 12, the transition into stage 4 is complete and children understand that rules are self-imposed obligations that are created through mutual agreement. Their moral judgements exemplify a perspective of equal justice tempered by equity and the child becomes a moral being. Table 2.1 summarizes the salient points of Piaget's theory.

Moral dilemmas about clumsiness, lying, and stealing. Piaget's (1932/1965) objective was to gain insight into morality as a developmental process and to determine how this process relates to the practice and perception of the rules for moral behavior. Identifying the stages that guide the application and consciousness of the rules of children's games was only the first step toward achieving this objective. Piaget's second step was to employ the technique of theoretical sampling to examine how these developmental stages affected children's reasoning about moral problems.

To elicit children's moral reasoning, Piaget (1932/1965) presented 5 to 13-year old children with moral dilemmas about clumsiness, lying, and stealing and discovered that the same concepts that guide the practice and consciousness of the rules of children's games also guide children's understanding of the rules for moral behavior. Piaget found that themes of moral constraint coerced by an external authority distinguished young

Table 2.1

Piaget's Theory

Age	Practice of Rules		Consciousness of Rules	
birth-2 years	Stage 1	Sensorimotor	Stage 1	Non-Moral
3-6 years	Stage 2	Egocentric Limited by egocentrism	Stage 2	Heteronomous Morality The moral is externally coerced. Moral realism prevails.
7-9 years 10-12 years	Stage 3	Cooperation		Develop perspective taking The moral is determined by mutual consent.
12- adult	Stage 4	Codification of Rules	Stage 3	Autonomous Morality The moral is determined from within

children's reasoning processes. As children matured, however, themes of cooperation and social interaction began to emerge as the precursors of a developing autonomous morality characterized by an independent, self-legislative stance.

Piaget (1932/1965) described children who practice heteronomous morality as moral realists who perceive moral behavior as entirely externally imposed. From a moral realist's perspective, rules do not require understanding, only obedience and conformity regardless of the circumstances. Therefore, duty becomes self-subsistent and independent

of reason. Any act that shows obedience to a rule or to authority, regardless of the command, is good. Any act that does not conform to the rules is bad. The good is obedience and the letter rather than the spirit of the law represents an objective conception of moral responsibility. As children mature, however, the development of relationships among children and a perception of increasing equality with adults lead to an attitude of mutual respect and children begin to understand that rules are imposed through social contract.

Justice. To examine the development of justice reasoning, Piaget (1932/1965) presented informants with dilemmas that stimulated their thinking about expiatory, distributive, and retributive justice; collective and communicable responsibility; immanent justice; equality and equity; and authority. He found that up until the age of 7 or 8, justice is subordinate to adult authority, but from ages 8 to 11, children progressively develop the notion of equlitarianism, or mutual respect. By the age 11 or 12, children adopt a perspective of purely equalitarian justice tempered by considerations of equity. As a result, Piaget concluded that mutual respect is prerequisite to notions of distributive justice and reciprocity and identified the ethics of mutual respect as the moral.

> The child sets forgiveness above revenge, not out of weakness, but because 'there is no end' to revenge (a boy of 10) . . . [S]o in ethics, reciprocity implies a purification of the deeper trend of conduct, guiding it by gradual stages to universality itself. (p. 323-24)

Thus, morality develops out of reciprocity, when mutual respect is strong enough to make the individual feel from within the desire to treat others as he wishes to be treated (Piaget).

Kohlberg's Contribution

In 1987, Colby and Kohlberg replicated and refined Piaget's theory and authored what might be one of the finest examples of a stage theory (Higgins, 1995). Their work represented the end product of Kohlberg's lifelong search for the constituents of Piaget's universal morality and the mechanisms that facilitate its development (Reed, 1997). Moreover, Kohlberg attempted to transform theory into practice, by implementing a Just Community approach to moral education in three high schools in Boston (Power, Higgins, Kohlberg, 1989).

Colby and Kohlberg (1987a) reframed the epistemological assumptions of the cognitive-developmental approach by defining the role of phenomenalism, structuralism, and constructivism in the development of morality. The first, phenomenalism, refers to moral judgement as a subjective reality, dependent on individual perceptions and influenced by both experience and maturation. Thus, an individual's moral reality develops as a result of a complex interaction between judgement and behavior as mediated by maturation. Thus, the relationship between moral judgement and behavior is bi-directional; overt behavior can influence moral beliefs just as moral beliefs can influence behavior.

Structuralism sets forth the proposition that as children grow older their thinking changes as a result of an interaction between experience and maturation (Higgins, 1995). This change occurs in qualitatively distinct stages that begin and end with a brief transitional period and may occur abruptly (Siegler, 1998). Thus, children's reasoning in earlier stages differs qualitatively from their reasoning in later ones and at any given point in development children reason similarly on moral problems. Therefore, concepts

such as moral obligation are not merely learned or used independently of other concepts, but are bound together by common structural features (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a). In fact, the relations among ideas in the individual's thinking and the pattern of connections within the individual's meaning provide the hermeneutic that guides the interpretive process (Colby & Kohlberg).

Finally, constructivism defines individuals' active roles in constructing and reconstructing reality. According to Colby and Kohlberg (1987a), by thinking about and acting on the world individuals are creative because they are always inventing or constructing new responses to new problems. Each response, however, is not simply a creation of the moment, but is constrained and/or facilitated by the individual's current developmental level and the individual's developmental history. In effect, each stage provides a scaffold for the next. To reveal an individual's progressive coming into consciousness as a result of action and reason, Colby and Kohlberg, like Piaget (1932/1965), presented informants with moral dilemmas to stimulate their moral reasoning.

Kohlberg's theory. Colby and Kohlberg (1987a) conceptualized a theoretical framework based on deontic reasoning; that is, questions involving judgements of rightness, duties, and rights. These researchers defined moral judgements as (a) judgements of value, not of fact; (b) social judgements, involving people; and (c) prescriptive or normative judgements, judgements of duty, or rights and responsibilities rather than value judgements of liking or preference. Thus, moral judgements are prescriptive because they command or oblige a prescribed course of action and are derived from some rule or principle of action that the speaker takes as binding. Moral

judgements are different from social-conventional judgements (e.g., judgements about dress, manners) because conventional judgements are relative to a particular situation, but moral judgements are unalterable and universal.

To elicit the individual's constitutive knowledge about the bearings, uses, and causes of moral problems, Colby and Kohlberg (1987a) presented informants with moral dilemmas that represented conflicts in values. For example, in the "Heinz Dilemma" informants' were presented with a conflict between upholding the law or stealing to save someone's life. Informants' responses to these dilemmas were then evaluated by identifying the relations among ideas in the individual's thinking and the pattern of connections with the individual's meaning. Concepts such as the nature of duty, rules, obligations, and the fairness of consequences were not perceived as concepts merely learned or used independently of other concepts, but were envisioned as concepts bound together by common structural features. Therefore, similar relations among ideas and a generalized moral perspective define each level and stage of development. Moreover, Colby and Kohlberg hypothesized that the developmental process they identified is invariant and universal. As a result, Colby and Kohlberg identified six stages of moral reasoning, grouped into three levels: (a) the preconventional level which includes stage 1: punishment obedience and stage 2: personal reward moral orientations; (b) the conventional level which includes stage 3: good boy/nice girl and stage 4: law and order moral orientations; and (c) the principled or postconventional level which includes stage 5: social contract and stage 6: universal ethical principle moral orientations.

Preconventional level. The preconventional level describes the thinking of most children under the age of 9, some adolescents, and many adolescent and adult criminal

offenders. Preconventional morality is characterized by reasoning that does not reliably understand and uphold socially shared moral norms and expectations because the reasoning process is constrained by naïve moral realism and egocentrism. Stage 1 individuals define the right as following rules backed by punishment, obeying for its own sake, and avoiding physical damage to persons and property. Thus, avoiding punishment and obeying a superior authority supply the motivations for moral behavior. For example, a stage 1 individual might reason that stealing is "wrong because you're not supposed to break into stores. You'll get locked up" (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987b, p. 66).

In contrast, stage 2 is represented in a concrete, individualistic perspective. Stage 2 individuals follow rules only when it serves their immediate interests and they expect others to do the same. For this reason, they have difficulty ordering or setting priorities when presented with conflicting needs and interests, leading to relative morality and indecisiveness in moral judgement. Colby and Kohlberg (1987b) present the following moral judgement as an example of stage 2 reasoning.

> Because if he steals the drug, he might get caught and then he'd have to put it back, and he'd be in jail and then he wouldn't be able to raise the money. (p. 70)

Conventional level. The conventional level includes most adolescents and adults and refers to a morality guided by a socially shared systems of moral rules, roles, and norms. During stage 3, the separate perspectives of individuals are coordinated into a third person perspective, that of mutually trusting relationships among people embodied in a set of shared moral norms. Stage 3 norms can be distinguished from Stage 2 rules because they represent an integration of perspectives that is separate from strictly

individual interests. Colby and Kohlberg (1987b) present the following as an example of a stage 3 moral judgement.

> In reality he shouldn't steal because the man in the shop worked hard and earned the money, so he doesn't have the right to steal from the shop. (p. 74)

At stage 4, the individual begins to take the perspective of a generalized member of society and conceptualizes the social system as a consistent set of codes and procedures that apply impartially to all members. The informally shared norms of stage 3 are systematized to maintain impartiality and consistency and an individual's interest is considered legitimate only when it is consistent with the maintenance of the sociomoral system as a whole. Moral judgement, therefore, is usually made in reference to institutions or systems. The following example expresses a stage 4 moral judgement.

> The law protects the druggist whether or not he is morally right, and in order to maintain any kind of order in society the law should be followed as much as possible. (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987b, p. 85)

Postconventional level. The postconventional level is reached after the age of 20 and by only a small minority of individuals. The term postconventional morality refers to a general acceptance of society's rules that is based on formulating and accepting the general moral principles that underlie these rules. These general moral principles are universal and unalterable and, at times, may come into conflict with society's rules. In this case, the postconventional individual judges by principle rather than convention.

A stage 5 prior-to-society perspective is that of a rational moral individual who reasons using the universal values and rights that anyone would choose to build into a moral society. Laws and social systems are evaluated in terms of the degree to which they preserve and protect fundamental human rights and values. Within this perspective, the

primary focus is either on rights or on social welfare. Rights cannot be abridged even through freely chosen contracts and each person has an obligation to make moral choices that uphold these rights, even in cases where they conflict with society's laws. Thus, the perspective reflects a philosophy in which social institutions and laws are evaluated according to their long-term consequences for the welfare of each person or group. For example,

> [A] society depends on a set of laws and regularities for its very existence . . . [A] set of common agreements and understandings among people which increases their ability to predict or control other people's behaviors. (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987b, p. 100)

The sociomoral perspective of stage 6 is that "the moral" reflects a point of view that all human beings should take toward one another as free and equal autonomous persons. This requires equal consideration of the claims of each person affected by the moral judgement and enjoins prescriptive role taking using procedures designed to ensure fairness, impartiality, and reversibility in role taking. Kohlberg and his colleagues did not find many examples of stage 6 reasoning in their studies and eventually dropped this stage from the developmental sequence (Reed, 1997). Reed constructed the following moral judgment as an example of stage 6.

> A stranger has a right to life just the same as Heinz's wife. Heinz might have more personal motive for stealing to save his wife's life, but there is no moral difference between his wife and a stranger. If Heinz were to consider the situation from the point of view of the stranger, he would see that there is no moral difference. (p. 72)

Table 2 summarizes the major points of Kohlberg's theory.

Table 2.2

Kohlberg's Theory

Age	Levels	Stages
Up to 9 years	Preconventional	Stage 1: Punishment-Obedience Orientation
		Stage 2: Personal Reward Orientation
9-20 years	Conventional	Stage 3: Good Boy/Nice Girl Orientation
		Stage 4: Law and Order Orientation
20 + years	Postconventional	Stage 5: Social Contract Orientation
		Stage 6: Universal Ethical Principle Orientation

Relevant Research

Piaget's (1932/1965) and Colby and Kohlberg's (1987a) stage theories have received substantial attention from the research community and much of this attention has been directed toward the development of morality in children. Stage theorists have examined children's moral reasoning as an invariant sequence of developmental stages that are qualitatively identifiable by their similar structures (e.g., Bussey, 1992; Jones & Gall, 1995). Others, however, have argued that the developmental process does not define the structural elements of children's moral judgements. On the contrary, social domain theorists define the structure of children's moral judgements using three social domains, the personal, the moral, or the social-conventional (e.g., Laupa & Turiel, 1995). Finally, social constructivist challenge the universality of stage theories and employ cross-cultural studies to describe the structural elements of children's moral judgement as a reflection of cultural specific norms and values (e.g., Brown et al., 1995; Shweder et al., 1987).

Evidence for Stages

Researchers have given much attention to egocentrism in young children and its dissipation during the early elementary years. According to Piaget (1932/1965), egocentrism serves as a psychological constraint on young children's reasoning that diminishes in influence as the child matures, signaling the advent of higher forms of reasoning. Because of the limits of egocentrism, young children tend to focus on the most salient quality of the event, the observable consequences--not the actor's intent, when making moral judgments. Thus, young children judge any event that evokes an adverse consequence as egregious, regardless of the actor's intention and state a preference for expiatory punishment over retributive justice in response to moral transgressions. By age 6 or 7, however, egocentrism begins to give way to perspective taking, allowing children to consider others' motivations. At the same time, children's preferences shift toward retributive justice instead of expiatory punishment when responding to moral transgressions.

In typical peers. Recent research employing a stage theory perspective provide substantial evidence that egocentrism may, indeed, be a defining feature of young children's thinking that appears to fade in influence as children mature (e.g., Bussey, 1992; Jones & Gall, 1995; Zelazo, Helwiz, & Lau, 1996). To evaluate the level of egocentrism present in children's thinking at various ages, researchers pose moral dilemmas and examine children's understanding of others' intentions. Findings suggest that even when young children can state an actor's intent and can define the differences between lies and mistakes, they will judge an act as wrong if the consequences are aversive (Bussey, 1992) or if the actor expends a high degree of effort in committing the

misdeed (Jones & Gall, 1995). Furthermore, findings indicate that as children mature, their ability to understand and use an actor's intent when making moral judgements seems to increase as they mature (e.g., Barchard & Atkins, 1991; Dixon & Moore, 1990; Laupa & Turiel, 1995; Zelazo et al., 1996). On the other hand, Barchard and Atkins found that children continue to prefer expiatory punishment as a response to moral transgressions, regardless of their level of maturation; therefore, researchers have not replicated Piaget's developmental effect in children's preference for retributive justice over expiatory punishment.

Researchers have generally relied on the moral dilemma interview to prompt children's moral judgements, frequently varying the content of the prompt to provide richness and depth to the results (e.g. Bussey, 1992; Nucci & Weber, 1995; Turiel, Killen, & Helwig, 1987). Moreover, researchers generally include children of varying ages to document maturational changes (e.g., Barchard & Atkins, 1991; Jones & Gall, 1995). For example, Piaget (1965) presented child focused real life moral dilemmas to 5 to 13-year olds, Johnston (1988) presented moral dilemmas in fables to 11 to 15- year olds, and Colby and Kohlberg (1987a) presented hypothetical moral dilemmas to individuals across all ages.

Although the use of moral dilemmas has provided valuable information about how children's moral judgements may vary according to dilemma content, this data gathering procedure requires specialized training in a labor intensive method of coding and analysis (see Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a for scoring instructions). In response to this problem, Rest (1979) developed and validated the Defining Issues Test (DIT), a standardized, multiple-choice instrument based on Kohlberg's hypothetical dilemmas and

scoring criteria. The DIT, however, is written on a 7th grade reading level, limiting its use to older adolescents and adults. Recently, Narvaez et al. (1999) developed the Moral Theme Inventory (MTI) specifically for use with children. The purpose of the MTI is to assess children's ability to understand themes of cooperation in moral stories as the author intended or as children distort them to match their developmental level of moral reasoning. Thus, the development of the MTI presents new research opportunities because it provides child development researchers with a standardized complement to the moral dilemma interview.

In students with EBD. Hardman & Smith (2001) piloted a study of moral reasoning in 3rd, 4th, and 5th grade students with EBD (n = 21) and typical peers (n = 21). Study participants completed the MTI (Narvaez et al., 1999), which measures children's ability to comprehend themes of cooperation in moral stories. These results were submitted to a regression analysis accounting for the following independent variables: SES, gender, ethnicity, grade, reading comprehension, and atypical/typical behavior. This research design allowed the authors to investigate the relationships among several cultural variables (i.e., ethnicity, gender, and SES) and the development of moral judgement. Moreover, by including students with EBD and typical peers, these researchers sought to further illuminate current understanding of the relationship between behavior and reasoning. Hardman and Smith also examined the moral reasoning processes of three students with EBD employing case study research to evaluate their responses to moral dilemmas. The purpose of the case study research was to elaborate students' reasoning processes beyond their objectively evaluated abilities to detect moral themes of cooperation as measured by the MTI (Narvaez et al., 1999).

As a result, Hardman and Smith (2001) found a significant relationships EBD, SES, and moral theme comprehension, but when accounting for all independent variables (i.e., SES, gender, ethnicity, grade, reading comprehension, and atypical/typical behavior) results showed that the effect for EBD was due to the overrepresentation of children with low SES in the sample of students with EBD. Moreover, case study results indicated that three students with EBD, who were also low SES, voiced self-focused, preconventional moral judgements and did not typically voice other-focused moral themes of cooperation. Instead of cooperation, avoiding punishment, egoistic consequences, and seeking personal reward appeared to motivate their moral decision-making.

Hardman and Smith (2001) concluded that the dominance of egocentrism in the responses of the students with EBD bears preliminary theoretically significant implications and warrants further documentation. They also caution that because SES and EBD were confounded, they could not evaluate the relationship between EBD and moral theme comprehension independent of the significant effect found for SES. These findings present additional evidence, however, that SES may provide a significant influence on the development of children's moral reasoning processes. While Colby, Kohlberg, and their colleagues (1987) found SES to be significantly related to the development of moral judgment in their longitudinal study of U.S. males, Hardman and Smith are the only researchers to pursue the nature of this relationship further. In fact, researchers investigating children's moral reasoning usually conduct their research using purposively selected samples, thereby seriously limiting the generalizability of the results to the diverse population that defines public schools.

On the other hand, Hardman and Smith (2001) failed to address the emotional concomitants of EBD in their analyses. Externalizing disorders characterized by aggression, disruption, and antisocial behavior are the most prevalent types of EBD (Kauffman, 1995; Kauffman et al., 1987) and anger is assumed to be the emotional motivator of these maladaptive behaviors (e.g., Kauffman, 1995; Walker et al., 1995). To effectively evaluate the relationship between EBD and moral reasoning, the emotional concomitants of the maladaptive behavior (i.e., anger) should be included in the analyses (Enright, personal communication).

Evidence for Social Domains

Social domain theorists (e.g., Laupa & Turiel, 1995; Turiel, Hildebrandt, & Waintyb, 1991; Turiel et al., 1987) hypothesized that moral reasoning is defined by three distinct conceptual domains: (a) the moral, which pertains mainly to concerns with welfare, justice, and rights; (b) the social-conventional, which pertains to an understanding of social uniformities and regularities as a necessary part of the smooth and efficient functioning of social organizations; and (c) the personal, which refers to those individual prerogatives and entitlements considered to be exempt from social regulation (Laupa & Turiel). Thus, these researchers challenge the structural integrity of the Piagetian/Kohlbergian framework and provide evidence that individuals, including young children, match the content of their reasoning to the domain (i.e., moral, social-conventional, or personal) in which the transgression applies (e.g., Smetana, Schlageman, & Adams, 1993; Nucci & Webber, 1995; Tisak, 1996).

In typical peers. Smetana et al. (1993) examined children's responses to hypothetical and actual conventional and moral transgressions and found that regardless

of transgression type, young children judge moral transgressions to be more serious, punishable, generally wrong, and independent of rules/authority than social-conventional transgressions. Similarly, others have found that 3 to 5-year olds distinguish among the moral, social-conventional, and personal domains (Crane & Tisak, 1995a; 1995b; Nucci & Weber, 1995) and that mothers (Nucci & Weber) and teachers (Tisak, 1996) respond differently to children's transgressions according to domain. Therefore, researchers conclude that the responses of teachers, parents, and peers to different types of transgressions may significantly influence young children's understanding of events (Tisak). In support of structural theories, however, social domain researchers have found that preschoolers and first graders are more likely than third graders to view mixed-domain acts as only conventional (Smetana et al.), providing evidence that as children mature, they are increasingly able to recognize the moral components of mixed-domain events and to incorporate both moral and conventional considerations in their reasoning (Crane & Tisak, 1995a; 1995b).

In violent children. Astor (1994) examined moral reasoning in 108 nonclinically referred aggressive and nonaggressive children using vignettes about family and peer violence. Astor found that violent and nonviolent children condemned unprovoked violence in all family and peer social contexts. Aggressive children, however, judged provocation as a transgression that results in serious psychological harm; therefore, it must be answered with retribution (e.g., hitting back). In contrast, nonagressive children did not think psychological harm warranted the serious harm that might result with retribution. Astor concluded that provocation should be examined as a social domain and suggested further explorations of violent children's reasoning in this domain. Although

Astor's subjects included 54 violent children chosen on the basis of the frequency and salience of their violent acts during a two-month period, Astor did not include any measures of anger in his analyses.

In students with EBD. In a follow up study, Astor and Behre (1997) examined the social context of provocation. Study participants included 17 boys who were enrolled in a highly restrictive special education day treatment program designed for students with EBD, their care providers, and a control group that consisted of a matched sample of 17 children and their caretakers. Using Astor's vignettes (1994), Astor and Behre explored the influence of family and peers on the approval of violence in the family and school within three types of interpersonal relationships: parent/child; parent/parent; and peer. Even though Astor and Behre were investigating violence at home and with peers, no measures of anger were included in the analyses. Using Astor's interpretation of provocation as a social domain, Astor and Behre concluded that violent children tended to use moral-only reasoning and nonviolent children more frequently used nonmoral-only reasoning.

Astor and Behre's (1997) conclusions should he viewed with caution because they are predicated on the assumption that provocation constitutes a moral domain. Based on this assumption, Astor and Behre coded nonviolent children's responses that hitting is wrong under all circumstances as non-moral reasoning and violent children's responses that hitting is appropriate when one is provoked were coded as moral. According to Laupa & Turiel's (1995) definition of social domains, provocation that causes psychological harm falls in the personal domain, which includes individual

prerogatives and entitlements considered exempt from social regulation. Therefore, Astor and Astor and Behre's findings and conclusions may be misleading.

Social Constructivist Challenges

Universal moral principles. Social constructivists also challenge the conceptualization of moral reasoning as a cross cultural/universal phenomenon that develops in an invariant sequence of stages. Instead, constructivists posit that moral development is entirely a social phenomenon, directed by cultural norms and values. Social constructivists charge that stage theories are singularly focused on justice reasoning because justice reasoning preferences the individualistically focused values and norms of Western middle class males, and relegates communitarian ideals, such as care orientation, to lower developmental stages (e.g., Brown et al., 1995; Gilligan, 1982; Gilligan, Ward, & Taylor, 1988; Shweder et al., 1987).

In an effort to examine the universality of justice reasoning, Edwards (1987) conducted a cross cultural ethnographic study of moral development in young Oyugis (African) children and American preschool children in a Vassar College Nursery School. Edwards observed that young Oyugis children conform to cultural conventions according to the salience of the social benefits connected to cooperation with the rules. Thus, Edwards concluded that the reasons for cooperation with many rules is often incomprehensible to young children, stating that "Oyugis parents do not need to preach to children about the rationales underlying any of these rules because the routines of children's lives amply contain the evidence" (p. 140). In comparison, she found that the values and norms taught in the Vassar College Nursery School differed from those taught to Oyugis children, but the method of inculcation was the same. Edwards deduced that

the learning environment, not the child, subdivides morality into separate domains, such as moral and conventional. She summed up the interplay of reason, culture, and development saying, "[W]ith increasing age and experience, children apply progressively more complex and mobile logical schemas to cultural distinctions and categories; they transform what they are told and what they experience into their own self-organized realities" (p. 149).

Gilligan (1982) challenged the universality of justice reasoning by examining gender related cultural differences in moral reasoning. Gilligan and her colleagues (e.g., Brown et al., 1995; Gilligan et al., 1988) present evidence that moral reasoning in males and females may be different in orientation. These researchers found that males are more likely to interpret moral dilemmas using a justice/rights orientation and that females are more likely to prefer a care orientation. Influenced by these findings, Cassidy, Chu, and Dahlsgaard (1997) investigated children's use of care and justice orientations. Children were read four moral dilemmas designed to prompt either a care perspective (one dilemma), a justice perspective (one dilemma), or either justice or care (two dilemmas). These authors found that regardless of gender, children used justice and care orientations at equal rates and would accept both orientations to the same dilemma. Barchard and Atkins (1991) and Smetana (1993) examined the effects of gender in their research; however, they found no significant differences in children's reasoning based on gender.

A Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Moral Education

Kohlberg envisioned the Just Community as a moral education intervention intended to provide students with social experiences that would facilitate moral development by deliberately exposing and using the hidden curriculum to create a liberal,

democratic community (Power et al. 1989). According to Power and his colleagues, Kohlberg believed that the most fundamental values of our society are the values of justice and fairness. Therefore, the purpose of moral education is to teach justice by allowing students to learn the basic valuing processes that underlie their capacity for moral judgement. As a result, schools transmit the consensual values of a democratic society and not the values of specific cultures or groups.

Power et al. (1989) stated that public school educators have the responsibility to teach values, though they do not have the right to impose their own, or any set of values on their students. These authors agreed with Durkeim's (1961) portrayal of the classroom as a small society with its own rules, obligations, and sense of social cohesion; therefore, the procedures of classroom discipline are naturally invested with moral meaning. Schools cannot eliminate authority from classrooms, but educators can, instead, use their authority to develop a community that enables children's socialization into a sense of attachment and obligation to society and its institutions.

Although the social curriculum is a vital component of the school curriculum, this curricular component has come to been known as the hidden curriculum (Power, et al, 1989). According to Power and his co-authors, the rules that define the hidden curriculum shape the moral atmosphere, or the context for moral learning, in the school. To implement a Just Community based on the principles of justice and fairness, these authors advise educators to employ the hidden curriculum when dealing with everyday rules of behavior. Therefore, the aim of the Just Community is to expose the hidden curriculum and transform it into a curriculum of justice, using a different form of school governance

where the rights of students and teachers are taken seriously and the values of justice and fairness take primacy over the value of adult authority.

Kohlberg and his colleagues implemented the Just Community intervention in two Boston high schools. Results indicated a modest developmental change in student's moral judgement stage scores. The most dramatic changes, however, were measured in the judgements of students who reasoned at the preconventional level when the intervention began. As a result their experiences in the Just Community, students moved from a stage 2: personal reward orientation to stage 3 and stage 4: conventional level of reasoning. Kohlberg and his colleagues concluded,

> The managerial approaches to school administration, with their emphasis on techno-bureaucratic strategies of problems solving, have undermined the ideas of moral education. They must give way to a more self-consciously democratic and communal approach. We are in need of an educational reform far more significant than any we have know, a reform that draws its inspiration not from technological advance but from the moral ideals of justice, democracy, and community on which this nation was founded. (p. 306)

Unfortunately, there have been no efforts to evaluate the effectiveness of the Just Community approach in elementary schools, where early intervention in children's moral development might be the most effective.

Review of Seven Independent Variables

The current research agenda appears narrowly focused on the influence of the developmental process and the universality of this process across cultures and gender, leaving many important theoretical issues unresolved. For example, cognitive-developmental researchers have not examined the influences of poverty and ethnicity within our Western culture (Hardman & Smith, 2001), the relationship between behavior and reasoning (Hardman & Smith), or the relationship between emotion and moral

judgment. While the study of children's moral reasoning has enlisted a variety of different perspectives (i.e., stage, social domain, and social constructivist theories), proponents of these perspectives seem to have missed meaningful opportunities to clarify the relationship between moral reasoning and behavior, emotion, and cultural issues specific to America's schools.

Socioeconomic Status (SES)

Colby, Kohlberg, Gibbs, and Lieberman (1987) presented the results of a 20-year longitudinal study of moral reasoning in 84 U.S. males seeking support for Kohlberg's hypothesis that moral judgement develops in a invariant sequence of six stages. They explored the effects of SES, IQ, and achievement assuming that these variables might provide an important influence on stage development. Results showed that stage 3 was present at age 10 for middle-class subjects, but not until age 13 for working-class subjects. Stage 4 appeared at age 16 in middle-class individuals, but not until age 20 in the lower SES group. They also found that moral judgement stage development was related to achievement; however, partial correlations showed that differences in rate of stage development was related to achievement as a reflection of SES differences. As a result, Colby, Kohlberg et al. surmised that SES influences the development of moral judgement because students with low SES do not experience the same opportunities to participate in society as do their peers from middle income families.

Although Colby, Kohlberg, Gibbs, and Lieberman (1987) presented credible evidence that SES might provide an important influence on the development of children's moral judgement, SES has been largely ignored in subsequent studies (cf. Bussy, 1992; Jones & Gall, 1995; Smetana et al., 1993; Nucci & Webber, 1995; Tisak, 1996; Zelazo et

al., 1996). In Hardman and Smith's (2001) study of moral reasoning in students with EBD, they examined the effects of SES and found it to be significantly related to children's moral judgement stage development. Moreover, these authors were unable to interpret the effects of EBD on moral reasoning because EBD and SES were confounded, indicating that students from low SES families are being identified as emotionally disturbed in greater numbers than are their middle income peers.

Researchers know that children from poor families appear to be at a cognitive disadvantage when they enter school and that they are also at risk for social or behavior problems (Bryant & Maxwell, 1997). Palakow (1998) describes poverty as an endemic feature of the landscape of America with the largest constituency of poor Americans being young children. In her ethnographic studies of public school classrooms, Palakow found

> widespread discrimination and prejudice on the part of teachers and school personnel toward destitute children and their families—where classroom environments for poor children, particularly difficult and angry children, become landscapes of condemnation that reveal shared experiences of exclusion, humiliation, and indifference. (p. 15)

In the case of moral reasoning, Colby, Kohlberg, Gibbs, and Lieberman (1987) and Hardman Smith (2001) provide evidence that SES provides a significant influence. Therefore, SES appears to represent an important cultural influence on children's school experiences and it also seems to represent a significant influence on the development of children's moral judgement.

Grade

The maturing of children's moral judgement as a function of age is the focal point of the research literature. Colby, Kohlberg, Gibbs, and Lieberman (1987) found a clear

relationship between age and moral judgement stage development in their longitudinal study of American males. Using a multiple regression analysis, these authors found that age accounted for 60% of the variance in stage scores. Moreover, they found that stage scores at age 10 did not predict adulthood scores, but stage scores at age 13 were much more highly correlated with later scores. As a result, Colby and Kohlberg (1987a) conjectured that the most fruitful time period for moral education may occur before the age of 13. Nevertheless, Kohlberg chose high schools, not elementary schools, as the context in which to implement his Just Community intervention.

The effect of maturation on the structure of children's moral judgement has been widely research and documented (e.g., Barchard & Atkins, 1991; Crane & Tisak, 1995a; 1995b; Dixon & Moore, 1990); however, Hardman and Smith (2001) are the only researchers to employed random sampling. Interestingly, these authors did not find a developmental effect when measuring respondents' ability to detect themes of cooperation in moral stories. On the other hand, their study included a small sample (N=42), a disproportionate number of students with low SES, and a limited age range (i.e., 3rd, 4th, and 5th grades). For these reasons, Hardman and Smith advised caution when interpreting these results and recommend continued research on the effects of maturation on children's moral judgement in samples that represent the diverse nature of public school populations.

Gender

According to Reed (1997), Kohlberg began his theory building efforts as a graduate student at the University of Chicago by studying the development of moral judgment in a sample of American boys. He elected to include only males in his sample

on the advice of his advisor, who suggested that he limit the number of variables to be include in his analyses (Reed, 1997). This decision led to credible assaults from feminist researchers on the universality of his theory across gender (e.g., Gilligan, 1982).

Carol Gillligan (1982) was the first to raise the issue of sex bias in Kohlberg's theory, charging that his justice focused account of the development of moral judgement was a by-product of sex-bias in sampling procedures. She charged that because the roles of American males are more likely to include participation in democratic social institutions, Kohlberg's theory preferences the development of a justice orientation in his hierarchical scheme of moral stage development. In contrast, Gilligan and her colleagues (1982, 1988) found that females were more likely to voice a communitarian or care orientation in their moral judgments, placing value on the importance of maintaining intimate social relationships. Using Kohlberg's scheme, this kind of reasoning is relegated to a stage 3: good boy/nice girl orientation; whereas, justice reasoning is assigned a higher stage 4: law and order orientation (Reed, 1997). As a result, females were more likely to be evaluated as reasoning at lower stages. Gilligan and her colleagues concluded that the cultural role of females in American society as maintainers of intimate social relationships might lead to the development of a different moral orientation, but not necessarily a less sophisticated one.

Gilligan's (1982) feminist critique of Kohlberg's theory has resulted in the frequent inclusion of gender in researchers' analyses of children's moral judgments. For example, Barchard and Atkins (1991) and Smetana et al. (1993) included gender in their studies of children's moral judgements about naughtiness and punishment and found no significant effects for this variable. Cassidy et al. (1997) focused on preschool children's

ability to use care and/or justice orientations in their moral judgements and reported that girls and boys used justice and care orientations with equal frequency and could even accept both orientations to the same dilemma. On the other hand, Johnson (1988) examined gender differences in adolescents' responses to moral dilemmas presented in fables and found that girls choose both justice and care orientations more frequently than boys, who tended as a group to use the rights orientation more exclusively.

Anger

The study of anxiety and depression have dominated researcher interest over the past 25 years while the study of anger has been relatively ignored (Kassinove & Sukhodolsky, 1995). Kassinove and Sukhodolsky define anger as

> [A] negative phenomenological (or internal) feeling state associated with specific cognitive and perceptual distortions and deficiencies (e.g., misappraisals, errors, and attributions of blame, injustice, preventability, and/or intentionality), subjective labeling, physiological changes, and action tendencies to engage in socially constructed and reinforced organized behavioral scripts. Thus anger refers to a label given to a constellation of specific uncomfortable subjective experiences and associated cognitions (i.e., thoughts, beliefs, images, etc.) and may develop as a result of people's subjective interpretation of an event. (p. 7)

Researchers have learned a great deal about the relationships among depression and/or anxiety and cognition, finding that emotion and cognition are inextricably related (e.g., Beck, 1976; Ellis, 1973). On the other hand, little is known about the relationship between anger and cognition. In fact, Eckhardt and Deffenbacker (1995) state that the study of anger has been neglected. According to recent findings, angry responses to any given situation do not appear to be dependent upon actual events, but may, instead, be dependent on the individuals' subjective interpretations of events (e.g., Dodge & Coie 1987; Levine, 1995), thereby signally the passing of moral judgement (Othof et al.,

1989). Thus, researchers know that the relationship between anger and cognition is reciprocal (Kassinove, 1995), but the direction of the relationship is not clear. In other words, feelings of anger may precede judgement (Deffenbacher et al., 1996, Dodge & Coie; Walker et. al, 1995) or judgment may precede anger (e.g., Downey et al., 1998; Enright & Fitzgibbons; Fabes & Eisenberg, 1992; Murphy & Eisenberg, 1996). The former position emphasizes anger as a trait that influences cognition, but the latter presents trait anger as a justified response to perception of injustice and rejection.

According to Kassinove and Sukhodolsky (1995), the typical instigation of anger begins with a value judgment. Therefore, anger represents an attribution of blame that is dependent upon individuals' perceptions of their social relationships. The emerging literature on children's anger presents evidence that there may be a significant relationships among social competence, rejection, anger, and moral judgement. For example, Murphy and Eisenberg (1996) found that social competency predicts anger intensity and Downey, and her colleagues (1998) found that poor and minority children who angrily expect social rejection behavior more aggressively, experience increased interpersonal difficulties, and decline in academic learning over time. In addition, Fabes and Eisenberg (1992) found that children who were low in social status and social competence seemed to invite aggressive conflict. Nevertheless, research on children's anger seems to be in an incipient stage (e.g., Boekaerts, 1993; Fabes & Eisenberg; Murphy & Eisenberg), leaving many important questions about the relationship between anger and moral judgment unexplored and unanswered.

Emotional/Behavioral Disorders (EBD)

An emotional/behavioral disorder is a complex, multifaceted disability that is defined by the presence of disordered behavior, emotion, and cognition (Kauffman, 1995). According to Kauffman the maladaptive behavior of students with EBD can be represented in externalizing disorders characterized by aggression, disruption, and antisocial behavior or it may be represented in internalizing disorders such as withdrawal and anxiety. Externalizing disorders seem to represent the most common form of EBD (Kauffman et al, 1987; Walker, 1995); however, this may be the case because externalizing disorders also represent the most commonly cited reason for referral to special education (Kauffman & Wong, 1991). Because of their maladaptive behavior, students with EBD often face rejection and rebuke from peers and teachers, resulting in their removal from the general education classroom and likely placement in special classes, day schools, and alternative schools (Kauffman).

While the federal definition of EBD refers specifically to unhappiness and depression as the underlying emotional concomitants of EBD, researchers suggest that anger may also contribute to the development of EBD, especially when maladaptive behavior is represented in aggression, disruption, and antisocial behavior (Walker et. al., 1995). Walker and his co-authors proposed (1995) a seven phase acting-out cycle that includes the following phases: calm; trigger; agitation; acceleration; peak; de-escalation; and recovery. These authors also identified numerous school-based (e.g., conflicts, changes in routine, provocations, pressure, and ineffective problem solving) and nonschool-based "triggers" (dysfunctional homes, health problems, nutrition, substance abuse, and gangs) that instigate aggressive behavior. Kassinove and Sukhodolsky (1995)

point out, however, that aggression is not always instigated by anger and suggest that the intent of aggression can be either instrumental or emotional. Instrumental aggression is carried out for an extrinsic purpose, while emotional or hostile aggression derives from an urge to attack someone when one feels angry, even though one may not profit from aggression. One may even be willing to pay a price for it. According to Kassinove and Sukhodolsky, this type of aggression frequently occurs in response to a perceived injustice.

An emotional/behavioral disorder is also defined by cognitive limitations other than emotional disorders. According to the federal definition, (IDEA, 1997) students with EBD exhibit "an inability to learn that cannot be explained by intellectual, sensory, or health factors." Thus, the definition specifically identifies learning deficiencies as an important element of the disability in addition to emotional and behavioral disorders. Researchers generally point to a population tendency toward a low average IQ to provide evidence that learning deficiencies may accompany EBD (Kauffman, 1995). Therefore, the emotional/behavioral/cognitive complexity of EBD seems to present child development researchers with a unique opportunity to explore the relationships among behavior, emotion, and cognition and children's moral judgement. Yet, students with EBD have not been included in studies examining children's moral reasoning processes (cf. Brown et al., 1995; Bussey, 1992; Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a; Jones & Gall, 1995; Laupa & Turiel, 1995; Piaget, 1932/1965; Shweder et al. 1987). Therefore, the study of students' thinking processes has been limited to identifying cognitive distortions/deficits that lead to aggression, disruption, and antisocial behavior and the reinforcement

contingencies that maintain cognition, emotion, and behavior (e.g., Kaplan & Carter, 1995).

Ethnicity

According to Colby, Kohlberg, and Nisan (1987), both the stages and the sequence of development for moral judgement are universal, or culturally invariant.

> [M]oral judgement represents underlying thought organization rather than specific responses; its development results from a process of interaction between organismic structuring tendencies and universal features of social experience, rather than from "transmission" through genetics or direct shaping; and the direction of development is toward greater equalibration in the organism-environmental interaction and reciprocity between the self and other. (p. 119)

To provide support for this proposition, Colby and Kohlberg (1987) reported the results of two longitudinal cross-cultural studies, a study of moral judgment in Turkish males and a study of Israeli kibbutz adolescents.

In the study of Turkish males, Colby, Kohlberg, and Nisan (1987) found that the moral judgements of Turkish study participants fit the stage structures and sequence proposed by Kohlberg's theory. The sequence observed, however, was limited to the first four stages in Kohlberg's scheme, prompting the authors to suggest a continued examination of the universality of stages 5 and 6 across cultures. These authors suggested that it is possible that other cultures hold moral principles that are different from American males, thus their moral reasoning may not fit the higher stage structures described by Kohlberg.

Colby, Kohlberg, Snarey, and Reimer (1987) reported the findings of Kohlberg's longitudinal study of 92 kibbutz adolescents. They found support for Kohlberg's theory observing that the development of moral judgement in kibbutzniks followed the patterns

reported for samples in the U.S. and other cultures. Moreover, they observed that the maturation of moral judgement in this population seemed to be accelerated when compared to the other cultures studied, including the U.S. As a result, the kibbutz culture inspired Kohlberg to model his idea for a moral education intervention, The Just Community, after the democratically organized community exemplified in the Israeli kibbutz (Power et al., 1989).

Others have also conducted cross-cultural studies frequently offering findings that challenge Kohlberg's claim of universality (e.g., Edwards, 1987). Few, however, have studied the relationship between moral reasoning and identification with an ethnic minority within American society. For example, Narvaez and her co-authors (1999) examined the relationship between ethnicity and moral theme comprehension by evaluating participants' ratings of "ingroup" themes found in the moral message choices of the MTI (e.g., Helping strangers instead of your friends can cause trouble. If you think of others first instead of your family, your family may suffer.). Because there were too few members for each minority group, they collapsed all ethnic categories into a "non-white" category and compared it with "white". Even though the participant sample included university students, only the 3rd and 5th grade children's scores were included in this analysis because there was only one "non-white" university participant. The test was significant meaning that "non-white" children rated the "ingroup" themes higher (i.e. "the same" or "very much the same") than "white" children rated these same themes. Hardman and Smith (2001) also used the MTI (Narvaez et al. 1999) to assess participants ability to comprehend moral themes of cooperation; however, they did not analyze

respondents' ratings of "ingroup" themes. They did include ethnicity in their correlation and regression analyses and found no significant effects for ethnicity.

Reading Comprehension

In 1993, William Bennett proclaimed that reading moral stories ("Book of Virtues") to children would improve their moral literacy. Narvaez and her co-authors (1999) challenged Bennett's prescription stating that little research had been done about the influence of reading moral stories on the development of moral literacy. They proposed that moral theme comprehension is an ability that is related to but separate from reading comprehension. These authors developed the MTI as a way to assess children's ability to comprehend moral themes in stories. Using the MTI children were asked whether or not they understood the moral lessons from four stories and they were asked to respond to reading comprehension questions for each story.

As a result, Narvaez et al. (1999) reported that developmental differences in moral theme comprehension were evident even after reading comprehension was taken into account. These authors found that the study participants assimilated the moral messages of the stories to match their level of moral thinking or moral schema development. Furthermore, results indicated that even when standardized reading comprehension and vocabulary scores were used as covariates along with the reading comprehension items, there were still significant differences between the 3rd and 5th grade students on moral theme comprehension task. They argued that while these results are preliminary, they support the proposition that moral text comprehension requires something beyond reading comprehension. Moreover, they concluded that it is possible to use an objective method to peer into the moral mind of the child and recommended continued research

examining such things as the differences between moral and non-moral theme comprehension, the relation between moral theme comprehension and scores on moral judgment interviews, and whether certain kinds of moral themes are understood developmentally sooner than other moral themes.

Summary

The cognitive developmental perspective of the development of morality in children is grounded in the assumption that children create knowledge as a result of a bi-directional relationship between thinking and experience. Reasoning is conceptualized as an intentional endeavor to discover specific connections between the things children do and the consequences that ensue (Dewey, 1916/1944). The development of judgement, however, is couched in a developmental process that may constrain or facilitate higher stages of thinking (Piaget, 1932/1965).

In 1932, Piaget conducted a study of children's moral reasoning, employing a cognitive-developmental approach to describe and explain the phenomenon. Assuming that children construct their moral realities as a result of their mental and physical actions, Piaget examined how nature and experience influence children's understanding of morality. As a result, Piaget authored the first stage theory describing the development of morality as a cognitively structured, maturational process. Piaget identified four developmental stages that define children's practice of rules. These four stages are sensorimotor, egocentric stage, cooperation stage, codification of rules. Through the practice of rules (experience), children also develop a consciousness of rules (thinking), in three stages: nonmoral; heteronomous morality; autonomous morality.

In 1987, Colby and Kohlberg authored what might be one of the finest examples of a stage theory (Higgins, 1995). Their theoretical framework was based on deontic reasoning; that is, questions involving judgements of rightness, duties, and rights. These authors defined moral judgements as (a) judgements of value, not of fact; (b) social judgements, involving people; and (c) prescriptive or normative judgements, judgements of duty, or rights and responsibilities rather than value judgements of liking or preference. Moreover, moral judgements are prescriptive because they command or oblige a prescribed course of action and are derived from some rule or principle of action that the speaker takes as binding. For example, moral judgements are different from social-conventional judgements (i.e., judgements about dress, manners) because conventional judgements are relative to a particular situation; whereas, moral judgements are unalterable and universal. Colby and Kohlberg (1987a) identified six stages of moral reasoning, grouped into three levels: the preconventional level which includes punishment obedience and personal reward orientations; the conventional level which includes good boy/nice girl and law and order orientations; and the principled or postconventional level which includes social contract and universal ethical principle orientations.

The structural theories of moral development posed by Piaget (1932/1965) and Colby and Kohlberg (1987a) have received substantial attention from child development researchers investigating the development of morality in children. In this regard, researchers have focused their efforts primarily on the development of moral reasoning as an invariant sequence of developmental stages (e.g., Bussey, 1992; Jones & Gall, 1995), as a function of social domains (e.g., Laupa & Turiel, 1995), and as a reflection of

cultural norms and values (e.g., Brown et al., 1995; Shweder et al., 1987). Nevertheless, child development researchers have missed opportunities to examine the relationship between moral reasoning and cultural issues relevant to our Western culture (i.e., poverty, ethnicity), behavior, and emotion.

Since Piaget's (1932/1965) seminal study, researchers have generally relied on the moral dilemma interview to elicit children's moral judgements (e.g. Bussey, 1992; Nucci & Weber, 1995; Turiel et al., 1987). Recently, however, Narvaez et al. (1999) developed the Moral Theme Inventory (MTI) which presents new opportunities for research on the development of morality in children. The MTI was developed for use with children and provides child development researchers with a standardized complement to the moral dilemma interview.

Only three studies have examined moral reasoning in children with EBD, with one of those being a pilot of the present study. None have examined the relationship between moral reasoning and emotion. In this study, Hardman and Smith (2001) reported that study participants with EBD demonstrated by their responses to the MTI (Narvaez et al., 1999) and moral dilemmas presented by a researcher that they did not understand moral themes of cooperation and that cooperation as a moral motivator was not a part of their experience. Instead, the participants with EBD perceived morality as dictated by external forces such as law and adult authority and not obligated from within. Moreover, their moral reasoning appeared to be motivated by the avoidance of punishment and trouble and seeking personal reward. Hardman and Smith concluded that the dominance of egocentrism in the responses of the students with EBD bears preliminary theoretically significant implications and warrants further documentation. These researchers also

caution that SES and EBD were confounded; therefore, the relationship between EBD and moral reasoning could not be evaluated independent of the significant effect found for the variable SES.

The other two studies were both couched in a social domain perspective. Astor (1994) and Astor and Behre (1997) found that violent, antisocial children view provocation as causing such severe psychological harm that inflicting physical harm to the perpetrator (hitting) is a morally appropriate response. These authors used this interpretation of violent and non violent children's moral judgements to reach the conclusion that violent, antisocial children reason more frequently in the moral domain when compared with typical peers.

Of the seven independent variables targeted in the present study, only grade (or age) and gender have received attention in the research literature. The influence of SES on moral reasoning has not been examined since Colby, Kohlberg, and their colleagues (1987) first identified this variable as one that is significantly related the development of moral orientation. The relationship between EBD and moral reasoning has not been addressed until recently (Astor & Behre, 1997, Hardman & Smith, 2001) and ethnicity, too, has received little attention from researchers. Narvaez et al. (1999) have been the only researchers to examine the dependence of moral theme comprehension on reading comprehension and none of the moral development researchers has examined the relationship between anger and moral reasoning, even though there is ample evidence to suggest that emotion and cognition are related.

CHAPTER III
METHOD

In Chapter III, I present the research methods and procedures of the study. For the purposes of presentation, the chapter has been divided into five sections. Because researchers have not targeted moral reasoning in elementary students with EBD using stage theory, I found it necessary to begin my inquiry with a pilot study. The methods, procedures, and results of the pilot is followed by an introduction to the present study, which includes a statement of research hypothesis and a description of the research design. The final three sections provide a description of the setting and participants, instrumentation, and research procedures.

Introduction to the Pilot Study

The purpose of the pilot was to explore the moral reasoning of 3rd, 4th, and 5th grade students with EBD. Previously, researchers have not determined whether moral reasoning in elementary students with EBD is different from their typical peers; however, they have found that moral reasoning may be influenced by gender (e.g., Brown et al., 1995; Gilligan 1982), culture (e.g., Edwards, 1987; Shweder et al., 1987), socioeconomic status, and age (e.g., Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a; Piaget, 1932/1965). I targeted moral reasoning in elementary-aged students because the number of students with EBD seems to increase rapidly during the elementary years (OSEP, 1998), 3rd – 5th grade present the best opportunity for intervention (e.g., Walker et al., 1995), and mid to late elementary years provide a context for rapid growth in the development of moral judgement (Piaget).

Because a disproportionate number of African American males and students with SES characterize the population of students with EBD (Kauffman, 1995), I also examined the effects of SES, ethnicity, and gender on moral reasoning. Moreover, I included reading comprehension in my analyses because researchers have found it to be strongly related to moral theme comprehension (Narvaez et al., 1999).

Statement of Research Hypothesis

Specifically, I collected and analyzed data to address the following hypothesis: When accounting for gender, ethnicity, reading comprehension, SES, atypical/typical group, and grade, there will be a significant positive relationship between reading comprehension and atypical/typical group and moral theme comprehension.

Research Design

I employed both qualitative and quantitative research methods to address the hypothesis. I used causal comparative methods to explore the relationship between EBD and moral reasoning in typical and atypical samples and case study research methods to explore themes and relationships in students' thinking at the case level, thereby adding depth and richness to the quantitative results. Ex post facto criterion-group research is a causal comparative design used when the researcher arrives at the scene after the treatment has been administered (Shavelson, 1996). According to Gall, Borg, and Gall (1996) the primary objective is to discover possible causes and effects of a behavior pattern or personal characteristic by comparing individuals in whom it is present with individuals in whom it is absent, or present to a lesser degree. The causal comparative design allows the determination of difference and, at the same time, an analysis of the relationships several variables. Thus, causal comparative methodology is particularly

useful when cause-and-effect relationships are not amenable to experimental manipulation. A disadvantage of causal-comparative research, however, is that the task of establishing causality becomes more difficult (Gall et al.). Therefore, the researcher must use both theory and data to eliminate rival hypotheses and justify causal relations within the proposed model (Shavelson).

Case study is a form of qualitative research that allows the researcher to study a phenomenon in its natural context by focusing on specific instances or cases, thereby conducting an in-depth analysis of each case from an emic (Gall et al., 1996). For example, cognitive-developmental researchers have employed case study research to examine children's moral reasoning by posing moral dilemmas or problems to elicit their reasoning processes. Children's responses to these moral prompts are, then, submitted to an analysis in which the researcher seeks a window into the basic motives, desires, and intent of the informant's reasoning (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997). In some instances, talk may be viewed as descriptive; that is, informants are treated as reporters on experience. In case study research, however, talk is considered constituitive. The informant becomes the author of experience (Gubrium & Holstein).

Setting and Participants

I conducted the pilot in one moderately sized school district with approximately 30,000 students in rural, Central Florida. I petitioned 23 elementary schools and one special day school for students with serious emotional disturbance (SED) to participate in the project. The principals of ten elementary schools and the special day school agreed to participate. From the 11 participating schools, I selected a computer generated random sample of 40 students from the 3rd, 4th, and 5th grade general education population and 40

students from the 3rd, 4th, and 5th grade special education population designated as emotionally handicapped (EH) or SED (n = 40). Parental consent letters were sent home with the 80 randomly selected students and 42 students subsequently returned signed consents. Interestingly, the informed consent process produced an equal number of study participants for each group. One elementary school had only one student selected and that student did not return a parental consent form, reducing the number of participating schools to 10. Results of a one-sample chi-square test indicated that the final participant sample (N = 42) did not differ proportionately from the random sample (N= 80) on any of the variables of interest: grade, ethnicity, SES, gender, or behavior type (typical versus atypical).

When the magnitude of the treatment effect is not directly under the researcher's control, the researcher should investigate the treatment effect by pilot testing the study (Shavelson, 1996). According to Shavelson, estimating the effect size is an important step in planning a study because the greater the treatment effect, the greater the power of the test to detect statistical difference and the probability of making a Type II error is reduced. Because previous researchers have not included elementary students with EBD in their samples, a pilot was necessary to estimate the magnitude of the treatment effect.

Shavelson (1996) identified three other factors that may also influence the power of the statistical test: (a) variability in the population, (b) sample size; and (c) level of significance. According to Shavelson, the power of the statistical test can be improved by sampling subjects from a homogeneous population. Sample homogeneity, however, may also reduce estimates of reliability, thereby limiting statistical power. Narvaez et al. (1999) estimated the reliability of the MTI using a sample that included a wider age range

of respondents than those targeted in the pilot, creating additional concerns about statistical power. Moreover, because the pilot was exploratory, sample sizes were small, but reducing the sample size also limits the power of the test.

Finally, Shavelson (1996) stated that by decreasing the level of statistical significance, the power of the test can be increased and the probability of making a Type II error can be reduced. Usually researchers are conservative when setting the level of significance (e.g., .05 or .01); however, since this was a pilot study, the probability of making a Type II error increased in importance. Therefore, I set alpha at .10 for all analyses to increase statistical power because there was no information about the expected magnitude of effect sizes from previous research, participant samples were small, and the reliability of the MTI using a limited age range was not known.

A chi-square analysis comparing the group of students with EBD (n = 21) and their typical peers (n = 21) on each variable of interest (i.e., gender, ethnicity, SES, grade) was significant ($\alpha = .10$) for SES, χ^2 (1, N = 21) = 9.528, $p = .002$ and ethnicity, χ^2 (1, N = 21) = 3.055, $p = .081$, indicating that the participants with EBD included proportionately more minority children and more children from low SES families when compared with typical peers. All other proportions were within chance expectations (i.e., gender, grade).

I purposively selected three students from the participant sample of students with EBD to participate in moral dilemma interviews. The sample included two female students, one 4th grader and one 5th grader, and one 3rd grade male student. The 3rd and 4th graders attended the same school, but were not in the same classroom. All three participants attended special classes for students with EBD.

Pilot Study Instrumentation

Moral Theme Inventory (MTI)

The purpose of the MTI (Narvaez et al., 1999) is to assess students' ability to understand the themes of cooperation in moral stories as the author intended or as they distort them to match their developmental level of moral reasoning. The MTI requires respondents to listen to four stories and respond to five tasks for each story. It is given in two 50-minute periods and yields two composite scores: reading comprehension and moral theme comprehension. The reading comprehension task includes 10 true-false reading comprehension questions for each of the four stories. The moral theme comprehension composite is a 12-item test that includes four tasks: (a) rate how well four vignettes match the story's theme on a five point Lickert scale, (b) select the vignette that best matches the story theme, (c) select two theme choices that best match the story theme, and (d) rate how well 7 or 8 theme choices match the story theme on a five-point Lickert scale. All stories and response choices are on audiotape.

Reliability and validity. Narvaez and her co-authors (1999) used the responses of two pilot groups to generate the moral themes and distortions included in the theme rating and theme selection tasks. The MTI was, then, administered to a sample that included 50- 3rd graders and 54 - 5th graders selected from one public elementary school and 28 adults enrolled in an educational psychology class at a public university. As a result of this administration of the MTI, Narvaez et al. (1999) reported a Cronbach alpha reliability of .89 for the moral theme comprehension composite and an alpha of .81 for the reading comprehension composite. Using pilot results, I calculated a Cronbach alpha reliability of

.74 for the moral theme composite and a Cronbach alpha reliability of .83 for the reading comprehension task.

Moral Dilemma Interview

I used three types of moral dilemmas to elicit informants' moral judgements: Kohlbergian (see Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a); Piagetian (see Piaget, 1932/1965); and literature based using the characters and setting found in the children's book, The Boxcar Children by Gertrude Chandler Warner. The Boxcar Children is a story about the adventures of four children who have lost both parents and are trying to live on their own. I varied the dilemma type to examine the consistency of children's reasoning across dilemmas, and I created The Boxcar Children dilemmas to provide an increased focus on the issue of obedience to an external authority, a dominant theme of children's reasoning (Colby & Kohlberg; Piaget).

Over the course of three 30 to 45-minute interviews, informants listened to a total of eight hypothetical dilemmas. Each dilemma presented a conflict between two moral issues (e.g., obedience to authority versus obedience to conscience), requiring informants to make a choice as to which issue should take priority in the hypothetical situation. Immediately following the reading of each dilemma, I asked informants to demonstrate an adequate understanding of the pertinent facts and issues presented in the dilemma, providing reviews when necessary. After informants demonstrated an adequate level of comprehension, I asked them to make an issue choice. Following a statement of the informants' issue choice, I probed the informant's reasoning about their choice to elicit moral judgements and I also probed their reasoning about the issue that was not favored

to generate additional information about the consistency of informants' reasoning processes.

Reliability and validity. Colby and Kohlberg (1987a) evaluated construct validity for the Moral Judgment Interview by how well the data match the hypothesized theoretical framework for the development of moral reasoning. Thus, evidence of construct validity is represented in a good fit between the patterns discovered and theory. To the extent that individuals' responses to hypothetical dilemmas predict real-life moral judgements, Colby and Kohlberg concluded that this element of validity is limited by the absence of techniques for scoring real-life moral judgements.

Data Collection

Moral Theme Inventory

I created an SPSS Base 10.0 file that included a list of student numbers, participant numbers, and extant data (i.e., atypical/typical group, SES, ethnicity, gender, and grade). Every participant (42) completed the Moral Theme Inventory (MTI) (Narvaez et al., 1999) at their schools and at a time and place arranged by the school counselor. The MTI was given in two 50-minute sessions and in each session, students listened to two stories and responded to five tasks for each story (i.e., reading comprehension task and four moral theme comprehension tasks). A research assistant scored participants' responses to the MTI and entered them into the SPSS Base 10.0 file. The scores of four participants with EBD were eliminated from the data analysis procedures because of missing data on some of the moral theme comprehension tasks.

I interviewed each of the 3 informants three times at their schools with each interview lasting approximately 30-45 minutes. The time and date for each interview was

arranged with the informant's teacher. In the event of absences, interview appointments were rescheduled. All interviews were audiotaped and upon the completion of Interview III, I gave each participant a copy The Boxcar Children. Interviewing began on May 1, 2000 and was completed on June 2, 2000.

As a result of this data gathering procedure, I conducted a total of 9 interviews (3 students x 3 interviews). A student assistant transcribed all interviews into a word processing file and I entered them into The Ethnograph (v5.0) for coding and analysis. Each informant was given a code name, using the names of the three older children in The Boxcar Children Warner, 1977). The 3rd grade male participant was given the name Henry, the 4th grade female participant was given the name Violet, and the 5th grade female participant was assigned the name Jessie. The 9 interviews produced yielded 130 pages of interview protocol.

Moral Dilemma Interview

I used a modified form of standard issue scoring (see Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a) to interpret informants' responses to eight moral dilemmas. Each dilemma presented a conflict between two moral issues (e.g., obedience to authority versus obedience to conscience), requiring informants to make a choice as to which issue should take priority in the hypothetical situation. Table 3.1 lists the stories by title and the conflict in values posed by each dilemma and the definitions for each issue choice are presented in Table 3.2.

Comprehension. I initiated the interpretive process by first evaluating informants' comprehension of the moral dilemmas. Immediately following the telling of each dilemma, I asked the informants' a few comprehension questions to generate data about

their basic understanding of the facts and issues presented in the dilemma. Whenever informants responded to these questions with confusion about any pertinent issues or

Table 3.1

Issues Represented in Eight Dilemmas

Dilemma	Interview	Issue
Heinz's Dilemma	I	
Part 1		Life versus Law
Part 2		Conscience versus Law
Part 3		Conscience versus Punishment
Louise's Dilemma	I	Authority versus Contract
Father's Pen	II	Conscience versus Punishment
Mother's Scissors	II	Punishment versus Fairness
Doing Chores	II	Authority versus Contract
The Foolish Brother	II	Authority versus Affiliation
The Long Walk	II	Fairness: Equity versus Equality
The Boxcar Children	III	
Part 1		Affiliation versus Authority
Part 2		Affiliation versus Law
Part 3		Affiliation versus Life

facts, I reviewed the story and continued asking comprehension questions until the child demonstrated an adequate understanding. When the informant and I were both comfortable with the level of comprehension, I then proceeded with questions designed

to probe the informants reasoning processes. Therefore, the first interpretive task was to examine all data coded comprehension to evaluate informants' understanding of the dilemmas. As a result of this analysis, I determined that every informant seemed to have an adequate understanding of the issues and facts presented in the dilemmas. Thus, I proceeded with the analysis of informants reasoning processes by segmenting their responses into two broad categories, issue choice (IC) and moral judgement (MJ).

Issue choice. The purpose of all eight dilemmas was to present the informant with a conflict between two moral issues, so after listening to a dilemma and reviewing the basic issues and facts presented, I asked each informant to choose the issue that should take priority. Informants usually made clear issue choices following the comprehension probes; however, occasionally they had to work through their justifications for each choice and then make a decision after examining the pros and cons indicated by each choice. Ultimately, informants made clear issue choices in all instances, resulting in a total of 36 issue choices (12 choices x 3 informants).

Moral judgement. The next interpretive task was to examine informants' justifications for their issue choices as expressed in their moral judgements. A segment of text was categorized as a moral judgement (MJ) when the justification was prescriptive (i.e., included words like "should" and "ought") and the informant identified a valued norm (e.g., authority) and a moral element (e.g., obey to avoid punishment) that provided a reason for valuing the norm (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a). This analysis produced 247 MJs that were submitted to further analysis to identify valued norms and moral elements.

Norm. The norm is the component of the MJ that represents the moral value(s) or object(s) of concern that is being brought to bear by the informant in justifying the issue

choice in the dilemma (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a). Thus, the norms informants valued in supporting their issue choices could include norms other than those presented in the issue choice. For example, in "Heinz's Dilemma", informants were presented with a conflict between the issues of stealing a drug to save the life of one's wife (IC life) or upholding the law and not stealing (IC law). In this example, informants might choose the law issue (not steal), but could justify the IC law by valuing the norms property, law, affiliation, and/or conscience. An informant could decide to "not steal" because it is against the law or they could decide to "not steal" because it's not right to take someone else's property without asking. I also probed their reasoning on issues not favored. The purpose of those probes was to generate additional information about the informants' reasoning processes and the consistency of their reasoning across issues. Table 3.2 provides a list of the norms informants valued to justify their issue choices.

Moral element. To complete the moral judgement, the informant must give a reason for endowing the norm with value. This segment of an MJ is called the moral element and is categorized as either a modal or value element. (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a). According to Colby and Kohlberg, a model element expresses the mood or modality of the moral language and included words such as should, must, deserves, and has a right. Sometimes informants offered only modal elements as terminal values or justifications. For example, when asked why stealing is wrong, an informant might simply reply, "It's just wrong", failing to provide a terminal value element in explaining why stealing is wrong. This kind of response indicates that the informant is speaking from a normative order orientation in which maintaining the norm is an end in itself. In

Table 3.2

Norms Valued and Their Definitions

Norm	Definition
affiliation	maintaining relationship
authority	obligated by an authority figure
conscience	obligated by good intentions
contract	keeping promises
fairness	issuing justice with equity or equality
law	obligated by law or rules
life	maintaining quality or quantity of life
property	respecting property rights
punishment	obligated by fear of retribution

contrast, value elements represent ultimate ends, values, or reasons set forth by the informant as the terminal value in the MJ. For example, when an informant says that stealing is wrong because "you might go to jail", the informant is expressing the avoidance of punishment as the terminal value. Table 3.3 lists the modal and value elements found within informants' MJs in response to the moral dilemmas posed.

Table 3.3

The Moral Elements

Modal Elements	
Upholding normative order	
1. Obeying/consulting persons or deity. Should obey, get consent (should consult, persuade.	
2. Blaming/approving. Should be blamed for, disapproved (should be approved).	
3. Retributing/exonerating. Should retribute against (should exonerate).	
4. Having a right/having no right.	
5. Having a duty/having no duty.	
Value Elements	
Egoistic consequences	Ideal or harmony-serving consequences
1. Seeking reward/avoiding punishment	1. Serving a social ideal or harmony
2. Avoiding trouble for oneself	2. Fairness: equality versus equity
	3. Balancing perspectives or role taking
	4. Good/bad consequences for others

Pilot Study Results

The results of a simultaneous multiple regression analysis indicated that the coefficients for SES (B = 4.009, p = .080) and reading comprehension (B = .516, p = .001) were significant. The coefficient for typical/atypical group was not significant; however, correlation results showed that EBD and SES were confounded. Therefore, the

significance of the relationship between EBD and moral theme comprehension could not be determined with these data.

An analysis of interview data suggested that 3rd grade Henry and 5th grade Jessie's moral judgements were dominated by a Punishment/Obedience Orientation, but also contained frequent references to an individualistic perspective consistent with a Personal Reward Orientation. In contrast, 4th grade Violet's moral orientation seemed to be almost entirely consistent with a Personal Reward Orientation. A synthesis of the quantitative and qualitative results provided evidence that students in the EBD sample may rely on preconventional reasoning to guide their moral judgement. These results, however, should be viewed with caution since EBD and SES were confounded in both data sources. Preconventional reasoning is characterized by a morality that is obligated by external forces, such as adults, law, and punishment, and is motivated by egoistic concerns. The theoretical and practical implications of these findings bear significant import and warrant further investigation using a larger sample in which SES is controlled.

Introduction To The Present Study

Cognitive developmental researchers portray the development of morality as a maturational progression through a series of qualitatively different stages (e.g., Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a; Piaget, 1932/1965). Typically, researchers use the moral dilemma interview to gather data about children's reasoning processes (e.g., Colby & Kohlberg; Piaget), however, the recent development of the Moral Theme Inventory (Narvaez, et al., 1999) presents a unique opportunity for child development researchers to integrate quantitative and qualitative research methods to facilitate theory building and increase explanatory power. In the present study I integrated qualitative and quantitative research

methods to extend the pilot findings by adapting sampling procedures to control for SES, a variable known to be confounded with EBD, and by examining the influence of trait anger on the development of moral reasoning. The most prevalent types of EBD are externalizing disorders that include maladaptive behavior in the form of aggression, disruption, and antisocial behavior (Kauffman et al., 1987). Thus, the variable trait anger was added because it is commonly recognized as the underlying affective component of externalizing disorders (Walker et al., 1995). Therefore, the purpose of the present study is to explore the relationships among behavior, trait anger (emotion), and moral reasoning (cognition) in a sample of elementary students with EBD and their typical peers while controlling for SES.

Statement of Research Hypothesis

The present study was designed to employ a cognitive developmental approach to examine the relationships among moral reasoning, trait anger, and EBD. I included elementary aged students because the number of students with EBD seems to increase rapidly during the elementary years (OSEP, 1998), $3^{rd} - 5^{th}$ grade present the best opportunity for intervention (e.g., Walker et al., 1995), and mid to late elementary years provide a context for rapid growth in the development of moral judgement (Piaget, 1932/1965). Because the population of students with EBD is characterized by a disproportionate number of African American males and students with low SES (Kauffman, 1995), I included gender, SES, and ethnicity in my analyses. I also included reading comprehension as a cognitive variable, trait anger as an emotional variable, and the student's grade in school to gauge developmental change.

Specifically, I collected and analyzed data to address the following research hypothesis: When accounting for the variables gender, ethnicity, trait anger, reading comprehension, SES, atypical/typical group, and grade, there will be a significant positive relationship between reading comprehension and moral theme comprehension and a significant negative relationship between trait anger and moral theme comprehension.

Design

To implement the present study, I replicated the same research design described in the pilot. I integrated quantitative and qualitative research methods using an ex post facto criterion group design and case study research to facilitate an in-depth study of informants' moral reasoning processes. An ex post facto criterion group design prescribes a type of quantitative methodology grounded in the assumption that features of the social environment constitute an independent reality and are relatively constant across time and settings. According to Gall et al. (1996), the objective is to discover possible causes and effects of a behavior pattern or personal characteristic by comparing individuals in whom it is present with individuals in whom it is absent, or present to a lesser degree. The researcher collects data on observable behaviors of samples and then subjects these data to numerical analysis and interpretations that can be generalized to populations.

In contrast, qualitative methodology implied by case study research requires the study of phenomena in natural settings as a subjective reality (Gall et al., 1996). In case study research, researchers interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Thus, the objective is to obtain intricate details about phenomena such as feelings, thought processes, and emotions that are difficult to extract

or learn through more conventional research methods (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The researcher treats social facts as things and interprets them with the aim of describing and explaining relationships among concepts (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997). Therefore, the qualitative researcher is concerned primarily with process (Creswell, 1994), and the interpretive activities persons undertake, moment by moment, to construct, manage, and sustain the sense that their social worlds exist as factual and objectively "there" (Gubrium & Holstein).

According to Gall et al. (1996), when the researcher uses a multiple-case design, the generalizability of constructs and themes across cases can be checked by noting whether a particular theme observed in one case also is present in the other cases. The generalizability of case study results to individuals or situations beyond those included in a particular study is problematic. Therefore, case study results are limited in generalizability and cannot be inferred to the situations and persons beyond those included in the study.

Sampling

Design requirements. When researchers want to draw inferences from a sample to a population, the statistical model requires a random selection of participants (Shavelson, 1996). A random sample allows each member of the population an equal and independent chance of being included in the sample. When the assumption of random selection is satisfied, sample findings can be generalized to a known population (Shavelson). Stratified random sampling is a sampling technique researchers use to achieve balanced representation on a variable of interest when the researcher wants to be certain that subgroups in the population are adequately represented (Gall et al., 1996). Since

socioeconomic status (SES) is a variable known to influence moral reasoning (e.g., Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a; Hardman & Smith, 2001) and is also significantly related to EBD (Hardman & Smith), I employed stratified random sampling techniques to equalize the atypical and typical samples on the variable SES.

Sampling procedures. I initiated sampling procedures by submitting an application to conduct research in 43 elementary schools and three special education centers for students with severe emotional disturbance (SED) in two moderately sized, rural school districts located in Central Florida. Only 19 of the 24 schools in district one agreed to participate in the study, so the sample selected in district one represents a subpopulation within that district. Every school in district two agreed to participate, thereby increasing the external validity of these results.

The sample selection process was different for each district, so I describe the selection process separately for each one. I selected 100 students from district one and 60 students from district two. I divided the sample in this way because district one was larger and was able to provide a computer generated sample. The sample selection process in district two had to be done by hand, requiring more time and effort.

School district one. I submitted an application to conduct research to the principals of 23 elementary schools and one special day school for students with EBD. Only 19 of the 24 applications were returned with 12 elementary schools and the school for students with SED agreeing to participate and six elementary schools declining. To stratify the sample on the variable SES, I requested a computer-generated list of all 3rd, 4th, and 5th grade students with EBD in participating schools who were not eligible for free/reduced lunch. This request produced a list of 13 students, so I purposively selected

those 13 children and requested a computer-generated random selection of an additional 37 – 3rd, 4th, and 5th grade students with EBD, bringing the number of students in the EBD sample to 50. I then selected a random sample of 50 - 3rd, 4th, and 5th grade students from the general population in participating schools using a 13:37 ratio of free/reduced lunch to full pay students. As a result, sampling procedures in district one yielded a total sample of 100 students selected from 12 elementary schools and one school for students with EBD.

School district two. All 19 elementary schools and the 2 special day schools for students with EBD agreed to participate in the study. I requested a list of student numbers for all 3rd, 4th, and 5th grade students with EBD and their typical peers. Using a random number table, I selected 30 – 3rd, 4th, and 5th grade students from the general education population, observing that 11 were eligible for free/reduced lunch and 19 were full pay students. To stratify the special education sample to match the general education sample on SES, I separated the list of special education student numbers into two lists, free/reduced lunch (94 students) and full pay (21 students). I, then, randomly selected 11 free/reduced lunch students and 19 full pay students to participate in the study. As a result, sampling procedures in district two yielded a sample of 60 students representing 19 elementary schools and two special day schools for students with SED. Sampling efforts in both districts yielded a final sample of 80 – 3rd, 4th, and 5th grade students with EBD and 80 – 3rd, 4th, and 5th grade typical peers (N = 160) selected from 31 elementary schools and three special day schools for students with SED.

After completing the informed consent process, I purposively selected an informant sample of 12 students from the participant sample that would represent an

equal distribution on the variables group, grade, and SES. I selected six students with EBD and six typical peers. Each group, EBD and typical peers, included two students from each grade (3rd, 4th, and 5th) and one student from each group and grade was chosen from the free/reduced lunch participants and one student from each group and grade was chosen from the full pay participants.

Setting and Participants

Setting

The present study was conducted in two moderately sized school districts (approximately 30,000 students each) in rural, Central Florida. One district had 24 elementary schools and one school for students with serious emotional disturbance (SED) and the other had 19 elementary schools and two schools for students with SED.

Participants

Teachers in both school districts sent home informed consent letters for all students included in the random sample (N=160) and subsequently obtained consent from the parent/guardians of 42 students with EBD and 40 typical peers. Each parent/guardian received two letters, one giving permission to take the MTI (Narvaez et al., 1999) and the Feelings Questionnaire (Jacobs & Blumer, 1984) and another giving permission for participation in moral dilemma interviews. Every consenting parent, however, returned both letters. Students in four elementary schools in district two failed to return any letters, reducing the number of participating elementary schools to 27. Appendix A contains copies of both informed consents.

Before data collection began, two participants with EBD and two typical peers participants moved. One student with EBD refused to participate during data collection,

reducing the final participant sample to 77. Results of a one-sample chi-square test (α = .05) indicated that the final participant sample (77) did not differ proportionately from the random sample (160) on any of the demographic variables of interest; that is, grade, ethnicity, SES, gender, or atypical/typical group.

Table 3.4 presents the results of a chi-square analysis of group differences between the group of students with EBD (atypical group) (n = 39) and their typical peers (n = 38) on each demographic variable of interest (i.e., gender, ethnicity, SES, or grade) using a one-sample chi-square test. The results of the test were significant (α = .05) for gender, χ^2 (1, N = 39) = 9.231, p = .002, grade, χ^2 (2, N = 39) = 35.250, p < .001, and ethnicity χ^2 (1, N = 39) = 7.385, p = .007. Consistent with previous findings, the participants with EBD included proportionately more minority students and males when compared with typical peers. The significant result for grade indicated that the group of students with EBD was older than the group of typical peers as measured by grade in school. The chi square result for SES was non-significant, suggesting that the stratified

Table 3.4

One-Sample Chi-Square Test of Atypical Sample

	df	χ^2	Significance
Gender	1	9.231	.002
Grade	2	35.250	<.001
Ethnicity	1	7.385	.007
SES	1	.506	.477

[a]α = .0

sampling procedure successfully controlled for this variable. Moreover, a disproportionate number of participants, 67%, were from low SES families.

The 12 informants selected to participate in the moral dilemma interviews were equally distributed between the two districts and were equally represented by group, grade, and SES. Four of the informants were female and eight were male; two informants were African American. Two informants were students with SED, including one Caucasian full pay lunch status student and one African American free/reduced lunch status student.

Instrumentation

Moral Theme Inventory (MTI)

The purpose of the MTI (Narvaez et al., 1999) is to assess students' ability to understand themes of cooperation in moral stories as the author intended or as they distort them to match their developmental level of moral reasoning. The MTI is a 12-item test given in two 50-minute sessions and is described in the pilot section of this chapter. According to the MTI Guide (Narvaez & Bock, 2001), the MTI (Narvaez et al.) can be modified by using any two of the four stories. Since the data gathering protocol for the present study required the use of instruments in addition to those used in the pilot resulting in an increased time commitment for participants, I reduced the length of the MTI (Narvaez et al.) to two stories. This reduction meant that instead of committing approximately two hours over 2 sessions, participants' time commitment was reduced to a one-hour session. A copy of the two-story form of the MTI (Narvaez et al.) used in the present study is provided in Appendix B.

Reliability. For this administration of the MTI, I calculated a Cronbach alpha reliability of .59 (N = 73) for the moral theme comprehension composite and .62 (N = 69) for the reading comprehension composite. The scores of four participants were eliminated from the moral theme comprehension composite alpha analysis and eight scores were eliminated from the reading comprehension composite alpha analysis because of missing data.

Crocker and Algina (1986) report three factors that affect reliability coefficients: (a) group homogeneity; (b) time limit; and (c) test length. Two of these three factors, homogeneity and test length, may have influenced estimates of internal consistency for this administration of the MTI (Narvaez et al., 1999). According to Crocker and Algina, the homogeneity of the examinee group is an important influence on estimates of a test's internal consistency. In the initial validation of the MTI, (Narvaez et al.), the participant sample included 3rd graders, 5th graders, and university students which represents a heterogeneous sample and would produce a wide range of score variance on a developmental measure. As a result, Narvaez and colleagues reported an alpha reliability of .89 for the moral theme comprehension composite and .81 for the reading comprehension composite.

In contrast, the homogeneity may have compromised alpha estimates in the present study because the age range was limited to students in the 3rd – 5th grades and the participant sample included a disproportionate number of students from low SES families (69%). Both factors, grade and SES, probably provided significant constraints to estimates of internal consistency for both the moral theme comprehension composite and the reading comprehension composite.

More importantly, however, Crocker and Algina (1986) state that test length is one aspect of a test that is certain to affect true and observed score variance. For this administration of the MTI (Narvaez et al., 1999), the number of items for the reading comprehension composite and the moral theme comprehension composite were reduced by half, perhaps contributing further to the magnitude of the reliability estimates for both composites. According to Crocker and Algina, the effect of reducing test length on coefficient alpha can be estimated using the Spearman Brown prophecy; therefore, I used the pilot results to project coefficient alpha when the number of items is reduced by half ($k = .5$, $\alpha = .74$). Using the Spearman Brown prophecy, coefficient alpha for this administration of the MTI (Narvaez et al., 1999) is projected at .60 for the moral theme comprehension and .71 for reading comprehension. While the result for moral theme comprehension is consistent with the Spearman Brown projection, alpha estimates for the reading comprehension composite is somewhat lower. Perhaps this difference lends additional evidence to the limits imposed by homogeneity when the sample includes a large number of low SES students.

Moral Dilemma Interview

The interview protocol for the moral dilemma was the same as the one used in the pilot study. I used three types of moral dilemmas: Kohlbergian (see Colby & Kohlberg, 1987); Piagetian (see Piaget, 1934/1965); and literature based using the characters and setting found in the children's book, The Boxcar Children by Gertrude Chandler Warner. The Boxcar Children is a story about the adventures of four children who have lost both parents and are trying to live on their own. I discuss the rationale for using the interview protocol in the pilot section and a copy of the protocol can be found in Appendix B.

Validity and reliability. The validity and reliability of moral dilemma interviews was discussed in pilot section; however, some researchers reject traditional notions of validity and reliability when employing case study research. According to Gall et al. (1996), researchers may instead apply criteria such as plausibility, authenticity, credibility, and relevance as evidence of validity and may employ triangulation to provide evidence of validity. Triangulation is a process that employs multiple data-collection methods, data sources, data analysts, or theories to check the validity of case study findings. In the present study, I used (a) multiple data collection methods, (b) multiple data sources, (c) multiple data analysts to check the reliability of the interpretation, and (d) structural, domain, and constructivists theories to evaluate the best fit with interview results.

When a researcher identifies certain patterns and themes in a data set, the researcher may check the validity of these patterns and themes by asking another data analyst (i.e., external auditor) to review the data independently and confirm or disconfirm the interpretation. To evaluate the validity and reliability of my interpretation, I asked a doctoral student in education to review the codes in seven interviews. The auditor selected the interviews to examine and I provided one hour of training. Upon completion of the training session, the auditor was then given a code book and asked to review every code included in each of the seven interviews, marking a + for agree or a – for disagree. I calculated reliability by dividing the number of agreements by the sum of disagreements and agreements for the codes comprehension (1.00), issue choice (1.00), moral judgement (.99), norms valued (.93), modal elements (.96), and value elements (.91).

Feelings Questionnaire

I used the 10-item trait anger scale of the PPS-2 to measure participants' level of trait anger. The trait anger scale of the PPS-2 is only one of several scales that make up the Feelings Questionnaire (Jacobs & Blumer, 1984). The Feelings Questionnaire is divided into three parts: (a) the Pediatric Anger Expression Scale (PAES); (b) the Pediatric Personality Scale-1 (PPS-1), the Pediatric Personality Scale-2 (PPS-2). The PAES is a 15-item trait anger measure that measures anger suppression, anger-out, and anger-control. This self-report measure requires subjects to rate the frequency with which they express their anger on a 3-pont scale: (a) hardly ever; (b) sometimes; and (c) often.

According to Jacobs, Phelps, & Rohrs (1989), the PPS-1 is a state measure that measures anxiety and anger as emotional states by alternating items about feelings of anxiety and anger on a single form. The PPS-1 requires respondents to rate 19 items (e.g., "I feel upset", "I feel like banging on the table") on a 3-point scale according to how they feel "at this very moment". In contrast, the PPS-2 is a trait measure that measures anxiety and anger as personality traits. Respondents are asked to rate 20 items (e.g., "I worry too much", "I get angry quickly") on a 3-point scale according to how they "usually feel".

Jacobs et al. (1989) administered the Feelings Questionnaire to 284 fourth and fifth grade children and reported the following results for the PAES. On the anger-suppression subscale, which consists of five items (e.g. "I hold my anger in," "I hide my anger"), these authors reported item loadings ranging from .39 to .77, item-total correlations ranging from .33 to .52, and a standardized alpha reliability coefficient of .67. On the anger-out subscale, which also consists of five items (e.g, "I show my anger," "I do things like slam doors"), Jacobs et al. calculated factor loadings ranging from .64 to

.75, item-total correlations ranging from .47 to .56, and a standardized alpha reliability coefficient of .74. Jacobs, et al. added five items to the PAES to assess anger-control (e.g., "I try to calmly settle the problem," "I keep my cool") and reported factor loadings ranging from .48 to .71, item-total correlations ranging from 0.29 to 0.50, and a standardized alpha reliability coefficient of .63.

Jacobs et al. (1989) did not report alpha reliability for the state/trait anger and anxiety scales of the PPS-1 and PPS-2. Moreover, the PPS-1 and PPS-2 are cited with unpublished references and the discussion of the validity of these two measures is limited to a describing the relationship of these scales with the PAES scales. These authors reported that the PAES anger-out scale correlated positively with self-measures of state/trait anxiety and anger on the PPS 1 and PPS 2 and with the Hunter-Wolf A-B Rating Scale (HWAB, Hunter et al., 1982). The PAES anger-control scale correlated negatively with PPS-1 and PPS-2 state/trait anxiety and anger, the HWAB Type A rating, and the Matthews Youth Test for Health (MYTH, Matthews & Angulo, 1980), a teacher rating of Type A characteristics. Anger-control scores were correlated negatively with self-ratings of state anxiety, the HWAB Type A, and with teacher ratings of impatience. Moreover, Jacobs, et al. (1989) reported that anger-suppression and anger-out scales of the PAES appeared to be correlated, but independent factors. A copy of the Feelings Questionnaire (Jacobs & Blumer, 1984) is provided in Appendix B.

Reliability. For the present study, participants were asked to respond to all three parts of the Feelings Questionnaire (Jacobs & Blumer, 1984); however, only the trait scale of the PPS-2 was used in the analyses. The scores generated by the PAES were not judged as suitable for the present study because this scale consists of three subscales that

measure different kinds of trait anger (e.g., anger suppression, anger out, and anger control), rendering the total scale score meaningless and the three subscale scores as narrow representations of the trait anger construct. Therefore, the PPS-2 seemed to be the strongest overall measure of trait anger. For this administration of the PPS-2, I calculated a Cronbach alpha reliability of .77 for the 10-item scale. In contrast, the results of an alpha reliability analysis for the three scales of the PAES yielded the following results for the 5-item anger out scale ($\alpha = .51$), the 5-item anger control scale ($\alpha = .55$), and the 5 item anger suppression scale ($\alpha = .25$).

Research Procedures

Data Collection and Analysis

A research assistant and I administered the MTI (Narvaez et al., 1999) and the Feelings Questionnaire (Jacobs & Blumer, 1984) to all study participants attending the 27 elementary schools and three special day schools for students with SED at a time arranged by school personnel. The entire test protocol for each measure was audiotaped so no reading was required and students were able to complete both measures in approximately one hour. At the end of the testing session, participants were given a small thank you gift. If participants were absent on the day of data collection, another date was arranged to collect data from these students. Data gathering procedures commenced on March 21, 2001 and were completed by June 1.

My research assistant created an SPSS Base 10.0 file that included a list of participant numbers and the corresponding extant data (i.e., atypical/typical group, SES, gender, ethnicity, and grade). Group (atypical = 0, typical = 1), SES (low = 0, middle and high = 1), gender (male = 0, female = 1), and ethnicity (nonwhite = 0, white = 1). When

all data gathering activities we completed, I entered participants' responses to the MTI and Feelings Questionnaire into an SPSS Base 10.0 file for analysis. These data were then submitted to an analysis of correlation coefficients using Pearson's Product Moment Correlation to evaluate the significance of the relationships among gender, grade, atypical/typical group, ethnicity, SES, reading comprehension, trait anger, and moral theme comprehension. I, then, entered all variables into a simultaneous multiple regression analysis, thereby examining the effect of each variable on the dependent measure while controlling for all other variables.

I interviewed each of the 12 informants three times at the participants' schools with each interview lasting approximately 30-45 minutes. The time and date for each interview was arranged with the informant's teacher. In the event of absences, interview appointments were rescheduled. As a result, I conducted a total of 36 interviews (12 students x 3 interviews). Upon the completion of Interview III, I gave each participant a copy The Boxcar Children (Warner, 1977). Interviewing began on March 27, 2001 and was completed on May 24.

After listening to each dilemma, I asked informants to make a choice as to which issue should take priority and then to support their issue choices in the form of moral judgements (see the script for the moral dilemma interview in Appendix B). Moral judgements were then coded using the analysis procedures described in the pilot section. All interviews were audiotaped and a student assistant transcribed them into a word processing file. I, subsequently, entered all transcribed interviews into The Ethnograph (v5.0), which yielded 547 pages of interview protocol that included 150 issue choices and 2,139 moral judgements to submit to further analysis. I assigned code names to each

informant using the following criteria: 3rd graders were given name beginning with the letter A; 4th graders the letter B; and 5th graders the letter C.

CHAPTER IV
RESULTS

I designed the present study to explore the relationships among moral reasoning, trait anger, and EBD by targeting the development of moral reasoning in elementary students with EBD. Specifically, I collected and analyzed data to address the following research hypothesis: When accounting for gender, ethnicity, reading comprehension, SES, atypical/typical group, trait anger, and grade, there will be a significant positive relationship between reading comprehension and moral theme comprehension and a significant negative relationship between trait anger and moral theme comprehension. I integrated quantitative and qualitative research methods to address the hypothesis, employing causal comparative research to determine difference in moral reasoning between students with EBD and their typical peers and to explore the relationships among EBD, trait anger, ethnicity, SES, gender, reading comprehension, the grade and moral theme comprehension. I used case study research to support these findings in a purposively selected sample and to provide a rich description of the moral reasoning processes voiced by students with EBD and their typical peers. Therefore, I present the findings in two sections: (a) causal comparative results and (b) case study results.

Causal Comparative Results

The objectives of the causal comparative analyses were twofold. First, I wanted to determine difference in moral reasoning between students with EBD and their typical peers and to assess the relationships among seven variables (atypical/typical group, gender, grade, ethnicity, trait anger, reading comprehension, and grade) and moral theme

comprehension using the MTI (Narvaez et al., 1999) as the dependent measure. Secondly, I wanted to determine which of the seven variables would maintain a significant relationship to moral theme comprehension when accounting for all other variables. The purpose of the MTI (Narvaez et al.) is to assess students' ability to understand the themes of cooperation in moral stories as the author intended or as they distort them to match their developmental level of moral reasoning. Table 4.1 presents the means and standard deviation by group and grade for the moral theme comprehension composite the MTI (Narvaez et al.).

Table 4.1

Means and Standard Deviations By Group and Grade

Grade	n	M	SD	n	M	SD
	Typical				Atypical	
3rd	15	30.20	21.11	5	30.00	15.26
4th	16	34.75	15.32	11	23.45	16.98
5th	6	34.33	25.91	20	26.55	18.31
Total	37	32.82	19.21	36	26.08	17.19

Note: Dependent variable = moral theme composite score

Bivariate Correlations

To accomplish the first objective, I computed the correlation coefficients among the seven variables and moral theme comprehension using a Pearson product-moment correlation. The results of these analyses are presented in Table 4.2 and show that four of the seven variables, SES (r =.205, p = .041), ethnicity (r = .386, p <.001), trait anger

(r = -.29, p = .008), and reading comprehension (r =.37, p = .001), were significantly related to the moral theme comprehension. As expected the relationship between moral theme comprehension and trait anger was negative and the relationship between moral theme comprehension and reading comprehension was positive. Moreover, the relationship between SES and ethnicity was significant (r = .49, p < .001), indicating that a disproportionate number of African American participants were from low SES families.

Table 4.2

Correlation Coefficients Among Seven Variables and Moral Theme Comprehension (MTC)

Variable	group	SES	gender	grade	ethnicity	reading comp.	trait anger
MTC	.184	.205*	-.133	-.041	.386**	.374**	-.285**
group		-.047	.255*	-.375**	.198*	.221*	-.068
SES			-.083	.029	.485**	.388**	.010
gender				-.153	-.004	-.027	.027
grade					-.096	-.077	.123
ethnicity						.443**	-.135
reading comp.							-.191

Note. group (0 = atypical, 1 = typical), SES (0 = low income, 1 = middle/high income), gender (0 = male, 1 = female), ethnicity (0 = nonwhite, 1 = white).
*Correlation is significant at the .05 level (1 tailed).
**Correlation is significant at the .01 level (1 tailed)

The correlation coefficient for atypical/typical group and moral theme comprehension was not significant. Nevertheless, EBD was significantly related to three

of the four variables found to be related to moral theme comprehension, ethnicity (r = .20, p = .04), reading comprehension (r = .22, p = .03), and SES (see sampling procedures). Therefore, the non-significant finding for the relationship between EBD and moral theme comprehension should be viewed with caution because the typical group included an overrepresentation of students from low SES families and a disproportionate number of younger students, perhaps altering the range and variability of their scores. In addition, these data indicate that EBD, reading comprehension, and ethnicity were confounded. Finally, an analysis of the relationships among trait anger and all other independent variables yielded a non-significant finding in every case. Contrary to expectations, the relationship between trait anger and EBD was not significant.

The non-significant finding for the relationship between grade and moral theme comprehension reported in the pilot was replicated in these results. One plausible interpretation of these results is that the MTI (Narvaez et al., 1999) may not be sensitive enough to detect developmental change when the range is limited to the 3rd, 4th, and 5th grades. Moreover, score range and variability may have been limited further in the present study because the distribution of students by grade for each group was disproportionate.

Simultaneous Multiple Regression

The second objective of the causal comparative analyses was to determine which of the seven variables would retain a significant relationship with moral theme comprehension after accounting for all other independent variables. Therefore, I conducted a simultaneous multiple regression analysis of the seven variables (i.e., atypical/typical group, gender, ethnicity, reading comprehension, SES, grade, and trait

anger) on moral theme comprehension. As presented in Table 4.3, these results indicate that the linear combination of these seven variables was significantly related to the moral theme comprehension, F (7,64) = 3.665, p = .002. The sample multiple correlation coefficient was .54, suggesting that approximately 21% (adjusted R squared) of the score variance in the moral theme comprehension could be accounted for by the linear combination of these seven independent variables. Results show that only the coefficient for trait anger (B = -.896, p = .05) was significant when all variables were entered into the model. Contrary to expectations, the coefficient for reading comprehension was not significant when controlling for all other variables.

Table 4.3

Simultaneous Multiple Regression Analysis of Seven Independent Variables

Variable	B	SE B	β	Significance[a]
atypical/typical group	4.661	4.518	.127	.306
SES	.807	5.230	.020	.878
reading comp	1.582	.859	.229	.070
grade	2.045	2.727	.088	.456
gender	-6.220	4.139	-.164	.138
ethnicity	8.189	4.953	.222	.103
trait anger	-.896	.437	-.224	.045*

[a]α =.05

Case Study Results

The causal comparative results show that the relationships among moral reasoning, trait anger, and EBD is complex and that trait anger is the only significant

predictor of moral theme comprehension when accounting for all seven independent variables. These results, however, are lacking in depth and richness, because they do not describe participants' thinking processes beyond assessing their ability to understand themes of cooperation in moral stories. Therefore, to seek additional support for the patterns quantitatively described and to elaborate the moral reasoning processes of study participants, I presented eight moral dilemmas to six students with EBD and six typical peers and analyzed their verbal responses to moral problems. To facilitate the presentation of the results, grade levels are coded into the first letter of informants' assigned names: Allison; Albert, *Alex, and *Allen are 3rd graders; *Brian, Betty, *Bonnie, and Barbie are 4th graders; Chris, *Cory, *Carey, and Carl are 5th graders. Informants with EBD are marked with an asterisk (*).

I initiated the interpretive process by first evaluating informants' comprehension of the dilemmas. Immediately following the telling of each dilemma, I routinely asked the informants' a few comprehension questions to generate data about their basic understanding of the facts and issues presented in the dilemmas. Whenever informants responded to these questions with confusion about any pertinent issues or facts, I reviewed the story and continued asking comprehension questions until the child demonstrated an adequate understanding. When the informant and I were both comfortable with the level of comprehension, I then proceeded with questions designed to probe the informants' reasoning processes. Thus, the first interpretive task was to examine all the data coded comprehension to evaluate informants' understanding of the dilemmas. Perusal of these data indicated that all informants were able to express an adequate understanding of the issues and facts presented; therefore, I proceeded with an

analysis of informants' reasoning processes by segmenting their responses into two broad categories, issue choice (IC) and moral judgement (MJ).

Issue Choice (IC)

The purpose of all eight dilemmas was to present the informant with a conflict between two moral issues. After listening to a dilemma and reviewing the basic issues and facts presented, I asked each informant to choose the issue that should take priority. Informants usually made clear issue choices following the comprehension probes; however, occasionally they had to work through their justifications for each choice before making a decision. On three occasions, informants were not able to make a decision, even after verbalizing their justifications for both choices. Table 4.4 lists the issue choices presented in the dilemmas and the frequency with which each issue was chosen.

As expected, all informants generally favored choices obligated by external authorities, such as authority, law, and punishment, and infrequently choose internal sources of obligation (e.g., contract, conscience, life). I found exceptions to this pattern in an emerging tendency to choose affiliation (i.e., maintaining relationships) and fairness (i.e., equality/equity) when internal sources of obligations were placed in direct conflict with externally imposed obligations. For example, when confronted with a conflict between law and affiliation in the Boxcar Children dilemma, *Bonnie stated that breaking the law is always wrong, but "[Do you think the children should run away?] Yes. [Why?] So they don't take Benny to the Children's home and make the others work." This inconsistency in reasoning seems to suggest that in the experiences of elementary-aged children, the opportunity to participate in mutually respecting relationships may provide an important catalyst for increasing their understanding of

Table 4.4

Summary of Issue Choice By Group

Issue Choice	Typical	Atypical	Total
Authority (4)	18	15	33
Law (3)	12	11	23
Affiliation (4)	11	12	23
Punishment (3)	11	11	22
Conscience (3)	4	8	12
Life (2)	6	4	10
Equality (1)	3	6	9
Fairness (1)	4	3	7
Contract (2)	1	4	5
Equity (1)	3	0	3
No Decision	2	1	3

Note. The numbers in parentheses represent the number of times the issue was presented. themselves as agents of moral authority. *Cory's need to maintain relationships were so strong that he contradicted a previous decision to favor the life issue in Interview 1 by choosing affiliation over life in Interview III. "[Do you think they take Violet to the doctor?] Um, no. [Why not?] Because they don't want to be with their grandfather."

On a few occasions, informants had difficulty deciding which issue to favor. In these instances, I probed their reasoning by asking for their justifications for both sides. Following this examination, I asked, once again, for an issue choice. If the informant still

professed that both choices were equally acceptable, I coded it as a no decision. For example, *Brian decided, "[Which of the two boys didn't take his father's papers again?] Both. [Ah, you think both would work equally as well?] Yeah." A no decision is theoretically relevant because it provides an early indication that egocentric reasoning patterns may motivate these informants' thinking.

Moral Judgement (MJ)

The next interpretive task was to examine informants' justifications for their issue choices as expressed in their moral judgements. A segment of text was coded as a moral judgement (MJ) when the justification was prescriptive (i.e., included words like "should" and "ought"), the informant identified a valued norm, and a moral element that provided a reason for valuing the norm. Over the course of 36 interviews, informants emitted 2,139 MJs that were further analyzed by identifying the valued norms and moral elements informants' voiced to justify their reasoning.

Valued norms. The norm represents the moral value(s) or object(s) of concern that are being brought to bear by the informant in justifying the issue choice. Thus, the norms informants valued in supporting their issue choice could include norms other than those presented in the issue choice. For example, in "Heinz's Dilemma", informants could justify the IC law by valuing the norms property, law, affiliation, and/or conscience. In this dilemma, *Allen valued the norm property, or the rights of ownership, to justify his choice saying,

> [Why is it wrong to steal?] Because the people work. They spent their life on that one thing and it's wrong to steal because that's taking their life. It is just like taking their life away.

In contrast, Carl supports the same issue choice citing the law norm.

> [Do you think he should steal the drug?] No. [Why?] Well, because stealing is wrong, even though that man's doing something wrong by charging it, like so much, even though it's a little amount, you know. Still, stealing is more wrong than [dying], I mean, and more than being greedy.

Because informants might select from a variety of norms to support their choices, I frequently probed their reasoning on norms not favored. These probes generated additional information about the informants' reasoning processes and the consistency of their reasoning across issues. As a result, I witnessed the knowledge making process as it unfolded, sometimes resulting in a change of mind and sometimes not. For example, Betty responded that punishment was necessary, "So [children] can learn," but also reasoned that a parent might explain instead of punish, "To not be hurting them". Although she held fast to her decision that the boy who was punished would not take his father's papers again, she also stated that if she were the father, she would not punish the child because it might hurt him. Tables 4.5 and 4.6 present a summary of the norms valued by interview for each group.

These data indicate that the most frequently valued norms were authority, law, and punishment, all external sources of obligation. Similar to the result of the issue choice analysis, these data also point to an emerging preference for the norm affiliation as a possible gateway into autonomously driven moral decision-making. At times, all informants' defected from a pattern of favoring external choices of obligation and favored affiliation instead. Most of these defections occurred during Interview III, where issues of affiliation, law, and authority were placed in direct conflict. When presented with these choices, informants tended to abandon previously stated preferences for law and authority and chose instead to value the norm affiliation.

Table 4.5

Summary of Norms Valued By Interview for Typical Peers

Norm	Interview I	Interview II	Interview III	Total
authority	102	119	31	252
law	114	4	7	125
affiliation	10	9	80	99
punishment	46	52	0	98
conscience	8	38	0	46
life	11	0	29	40
property	23	0	0	23
fairness	0	22	0	22
equality	0	14	0	14
equity	0	13	0	13
contract	0	4	0	4

Table 4.6

Summary of Norms Valued By Interview for Students with EBD

Norm	Interview I	Interview II	Interview III	Total
authority	73	94	37	204
law	117	0	14	131
punishment	39	86	0	125
affiliation	23	3	85	111
contract	30	17	0	47
property	46	0	0	46
conscience	17	28	0	45
life	16	0	13	29
equality	0	24	0	24
fairness	0	14	0	14
equity	0	0	0	0

Moral Elements. For a segment of text to qualify as a complete MJ, the informant must voice a reason for endowing a norm with value. This component of an MJ is called the moral element and may be classified as either a modal or value element. A model element expresses the mood or modality of the moral language and includes words such as should, must, deserves, and has a right and may or may not be followed by a value element. When informants consistently omit the value element from their MJs, it signals that the informant was speaking from a normative order orientation in which maintaining the norm is an end in itself.

In the present study, informants justified preferred and non-preferred norms using five different modal elements: obey/consult, blame/approve, retribute/exonerate, have a right, and have a duty. For example, when asked what good will a whipping do for a disobedient son, *Alex replied, "Teach [the foolish son] a lesson," citing the modal element obey/consult to justify his preference for punishment. Chris used the same modal element to justify the law norm answering, "[Why do you think there is a law against stealing?] Because it's probably different from borrowing?" In both examples, the informant is indicating that one must consult with or obey an externally imposed authority to make moral decisions.

The modal element blame/approve was coded when informants' merely evaluated a norm as right or wrong. For example, when Barbie heard that Heinz was thinking about stealing the medicine, she immediately responded, "Um, I think it's wrong." Carl used a similar justification when reasoning about obeying adults who may be strangers.

> [Is it always right to keep information from strange adults?] Uh, I would say, I would say um, it's a no. It's not always right, but then I don't know why.

In this example, Carl explained that, in certain cases, it is right to give information to strangers, but he does not know why. He clearly offered no value element to support his MJ.

When informants' judgements expressed a need for pay back or vindication, the mood represented a mandate to retribute/exonerate. For example, informants believed that it is not fair for a mother to punish her children when there is a question of guilt. On the other hand, none believed that it would be right to allow perpetrators to go unpunished to avoid punishing an innocent person. In this regard, Betty expressed the

need for retribution and exoneration advising that the mother, "Pick up fingerprints," and *Carey stated that, "[She] should put a camera right there, near her scissors. [Then she can] see who messed with them." The guilty must be identified and punished and the innocent must be exonerated.

Occasionally, informants justified norms claiming a right or duty. For example, some informants valued property rights stating that individuals have a right to do whatever they want with their property.

> Allison: But I think she [a daughter] should spend it on whatever she wants because she, she was the one who earned it and she was the one who put on a goal.

In this example, however, Allison was justifying a norm not favored. Ultimately, she delegated to the mother the moral authority to make decisions about the disposition of her daughter's property because mothers have a responsibility or duty to "like not have their child a liar and a cheater when they grow up."

In contrast to modal elements, value elements represent ultimate ends and/or values and provide the terminal value of an MJ. In the present study, I identified six categories that appear to encompass the terminal values voiced in informants MJs: avoiding punishment/seeking reward;

> Albert: [What's the good of spanking?] That would teach them a lesson about being punished and all that, and they would probably never steal again. Like, I got spanked once for that eraser.

good/bad egocentric consequences;

> *Alex: [Why do you think the one that was punished did not take the pen back?] Because he wanted the pen and so his father wouldn't know that he found it, but he did.

good/bad consequences for others,

> Barbie: [Why is it important to keep your promises?] When somebody say[s] they promise something you shouldn't like depend on the promise but it's important that somebody keep[s] their promise . . . Sometimes you can hurt people's feelings when you don't keep your promises.

balancing perspectives/role taking;

> *Allen: [Why is it important not to hurt people?] Because I guess it's because you wouldn't want that happening to yourself and if everybody hurt everybody it wouldn't be it wouldn't be that good of a place.

equality/equity;

> Betty: [Why is that bad? To take something that isn't yours?] Because. [Look at the druggist, I mean he had other medicine.] Because you didn't pay for it and maybe somebody else did.

and serving an ideal or social harmony.

> Allison: [What, where do you think law came from?] I think it came from somebody who had something that was stolen from them and something really bad happened to em like someone stole money and then one of their children died because they didn't have enough food. So he talked to the police about it and they made a law that you can't steal.

Interpreting the use of value elements in informants' MJs provided the most valuable clues about informants' motivations when making moral decisions. Because a moral dilemma provides only a conflict in values where there is no clear choice of right or wrong, statements about issue choices and valued norms cannot provide sufficient evidence about an individual's motivation. Therefore, the task of interpreting how an informant used value elements to justify their reasoning became a critical factor in determining moral orientation. Table 4.7 lists a summary by group of the modal and value elements found within informants' moral judgments.

Table 4.7

By Group Summary of Moral Elements and Value Elements

	Students with EBD	Typical Peers
Modal Elements		
obey/consult	434	563
blame/approve	515	430
retribute/exonerate	75	46
have a right	11	11
have a duty	3	19
Value Elements		
punishment/reward	125	72
egoistic concerns	170	129
consequences to others	64	132
equality/equity	23	51
perspective taking	7	5
social order	10	18

Moral Orientation

Preconventional level. At times, all informants used only normative order or modal elements as the terminal value in a moral judgment; however, when informants consistently failed to provide a terminal value in the form of a value element, it usually indicated a Punishment/Obedience Orientation. For example, when asked why it's wrong

to steal, Chris responded, "Because it's not right to steal." When pressed further be simply replied, "Because," indicating that, in his way of thinking, maintaining the norm is an end unto itself. After evaluating Chris' response patterns, I found that he included a value element in only 15 of his 135 MJs. In comparison, Carl included value elements in of 104 of his 162 MJs.

When informants who express a Punishment/Obedience Orientation do supply a value element, it typically represents an intention to avoid certain punishment or to seek a reward (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987). For example, Chris reasoned that a scout should obey his scoutmaster even when the request is not fair because the scoutmaster might make him "do all the chores," if he does not comply. To justify a son's obedience to his father, Chris stated that

> [Would it be right for the good brother to tell the father its not my business what my brother does. Ask him yourself.] No. [Why] Mmmm, because, if he, he told the good boy to tell him what the other boy did and if he said that, he'd probably get punished.

Note, however, that Chris cited punishment as a probability, but not a certainty in both examples. Typically, individuals who reason using a Punishment/Obedience Orientation state punishment as a certainty (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987). Therefore, Chris' tendency to qualify the certainty of punishment may be interpreted as a move toward a Personal Reward Orientation. Nevertheless, his inability to supply value elements when making moral judgments provided strong evidence that this change in orientation was not yet consummated.

Individuals motivated by a Personal Reward Orientation consistently state the threat of punishment and the possibility of reward as a probability, something that might happen (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987). For example, in responding to questions about the

imprudence of stealing, *Allen stated "No, he shouldn't [steal] because stealing is bad and even if he did steal it he would probably go to jail." Similarly, *Cory cited seeking a reward as a probability when justifying his preference for the norm life saying, "Because if he steal[s] it, um, for his wife . . . he might get an award." Thus, one takes chances when defying authority.

In addition to avoiding punishment or seeking reward, other egocentric concerns pervaded the reasoning processes of informants who voiced a Personal Reward Orientation. For example,

> Betty: [Why is it bad to be a tattletale?] Because people think [pause], like people won't be your friends and stuff. They'll say you're a tattletale and stuff.
>
> *Allen: [Tell me about what you can keep to yourself and why that's important for a child.] Well I should keep my age and phone number and all that together so I won't, so I can't tell anybody that I don't know so. So they can't come to my house and hurt me really bad.

Individuals' judgements of value become singularly focused on the consequences to self, even though they may appear to consider the perspective of another.

> *Cory: [Should the judge give Heinz a sentence or let Heinz go free?] Let Heinz go free. [Why?] Because he was trying to help somebody. If the judge got sick, he would want somebody to help him.

In this example, *Cory appeared to be engaging in perspective taking, but in actuality, he was merely projecting his own egoistic needs to another party.

> [Should people who break the law be punished?] Um if they ain't doing no good. If they're just breaking the law for fun, yes. Yes they should be punished.

According to *Cory, "doing good" could include stealing to save the life of a pet or the life of a stranger, if it meant one might be rewarded for one's actions. His judgements about an actor's good or bad intentions were consistently

predicated on egocentric consequences. If a decision would benefit the actor, the act was good and others should judge it as good, as well. If the decision would not benefit the actor the act was bad and others should also judge the act as bad. He was loath to define good intentions in terms of their effects on others, only providing justifications in terms of reward for the actor. For example, a daughter should obey her mother, "Because . . . your mother buy[s] you food . . . Sometimes she buy[s] you new clothes and new shoes, and a car, and chocolates," but a daughter does not have to obey if "the mama don't like her, uh uh [no]." When children reason using a Personal Reward Orientation, every moral situation becomes conditional and the obligatory is relative to selfish needs and concerns. Instrumental morality provides the order for moral judgement.

Conventional level. Only one informant, Allison, expressed a perspective representative of a Good Boy/Nice Girl Orientation, as indicated by her ability to incorporate a concern for others into her moral judgements. While informants who expressed Punishment/Obedience and Personal Reward Orientations occasionally invoked a concern for others, Allison's concern for others became more than an occasional reference point. Allison invoked a concern for others as the value element 58 of her MJs, whereas the other 3rd graders held this value with far less frequency (Albert = 20 times, *Alex = 1 time, *Allen = 17 times).

Although Allison frequently expressed a need to meet her egocentric needs, her moral compass appeared to be based on a genuine concern for others. For example, she explained that a mother should be concerned about breaking promises to her daughter saying,

> Researcher: In general, what should be the authority of the mother over the daughter. We talked about this just a little bit. [You told me] you don't think that a mother should make a deal with her child and then break it, but you think the mother thinks [breaking a promise if she has to] is ok, right?
>
> Allison: I think the mother thinks that that's all right but if she thought it through, I think that she wouldn't like doing it because she loved her daughter and she doesn't want anything bad to happen to her.

Allison reasoned that the daughter would be so upset about a broken promise that she might do something foolishly disobedient. She argued that, although a mother has the right to break a promise, she should be aware that her child might suffer the consequences of that decision. This response also provided an example of another pervasive element in Allison's reasoning, a belief that moral authority granted to external sources (i.e., authority, law, punishment) should be tempered by mutual respect. In this regard, Allison became a champion of equality, maintaining that rules should be equally applied regardless of power or allegiances. Officer Brown should report Heinz even if they are good friends and he knows Heinz's predicament. She explained, "Because he is just a normal citizen. He is not no more special than anybody else. So he should pay his price for [stealing]." She added, however,

> Even though he's his friend, it's his duty to arrest anybody that does something wrong because if that happens and he doesn't go to jail, then he might do it again and again and again. And then something might happen that's even worse than just going to jail.

In this example, she justified her moral decision by valuing the norms of affiliation and law compelled by a sense of duty to apply justice equally. In the final analysis, however, she judged Officer Brown's morality by the level of consideration he gives to Heinz's well being and safety.

Carl was the only informant to express a Law and Order Orientation, which differs from a Good Boy/Nice Girl Orientation only with respect to perspective. For example, Carl stated that equal treatment defines the moral because it necessitates care for others by imposing social order. In the following example, he reasoned that two boys should share, half-and-half, one lunch because equal treatment is the best method for insuring social harmony.

> Yes, because um, because it wouldn't cause fights . . . If they decided to flip a coin for it, then it just might cause fights, you know. And the little one might . . .start like saying, "That wasn't fair," you know. Even though he agreed to [it] . . .Or the big boy might think the same thing . . . saying, "Hey, that wasn't fair." Even though he agreed, you know. It would just cause fights, you know. And you should just split it down the middle.

Whereas Allison's reasoning usually focused on moral obligations as determined by mutual interpersonal expectations, relationships, and interpersonal conformity, Carl's moral judgments tended to express care for others from a broader societal perspective.

> Carl: [Whose business is it if children run away?] Well . . . the USA really doesn't want people to be poor. There's already enough poor people like in New York, you know, that just, that beg for stuff or anything, you know . . . Just live out like in trees and have to beg for places to sleep, you know. These things, it's just not right.

Table 4.8 provides a list of informants, their demographics, and an evaluation of their moral orientation based on the themes and patterns identified in their moral judgements. This interpretation of informants' moral orientation suggests that the entire sample of students with EBD and many of their typical peers exhibited preconventional, egocentrically motivated reasoning patterns. Two typical peers, Allison and Carl, voiced conventional, other-focused reasoning patterns. These results seem to call in to question the sufficiency of the developmental process alone to direct the development of

children's morality. Experience appears to play an important, if not defining role, in the development of children's morality.

Table 4.8

Moral Orientation By Group

Name	Grade	SES	Gender	Ethnicity	Moral Orientation
			Atypical		
Allen	3	Full pay	M	W	Personal Reward
Alex	3	Free/reduced	M	W	Personal Reward
Brian	4	Full pay	M	W	Personal Reward
Bonnie	4	Free/reduced	F	W	Personal Reward
Carey	5	Full pay	M	W	Personal Reward
Cory	5	Free/reduced	M	B	Personal Reward
			Typical Peers		
Allison	3	Full pay	F	W	Good Boy/Nice Girl
Albert	3	Free/reduced	M	W	Personal Reward
Betty	4	Full pay	F	W	Personal Reward
Barbie	4	Free/reduced	F	B	Personal Reward
Carl	5	Full pay	M	W	Law and Order
Chris	5	Free/reduced	M	W	Punishment/Obedience

Note. SES is based on lunch status.

Summary of the Results

Analyses of participants' responses to the MTI (Narvaez et al., 1999) moral theme comprehension tasks and moral dilemma interviews show that the moral orientation of

students with EBD and many of their typical peers may be limited with respect to their ability to understand moral themes of cooperation. The causal comparative results indicated that SES, reading comprehension, ethnicity, and trait anger were significantly related to moral theme comprehension and that African American students, males, and children with low SES were disproportionately represented in the population of students with EBD. In addition, ethnicity was confounded with SES. The relationship between trait anger and EBD was not significant. In fact, trait anger was not significantly related to any variables other than moral theme comprehension and perhaps reading comprehension. On the other hand, trait anger proved to be the only significant predictor of moral theme comprehension when accounting for all independent variables (i.e., atypical/typical group, SES, reading comprehension, gender, ethnicity, and grade).

The significance of the developmental differences between students with EBD and their typical peers could not be determined with these data because of the disproportionate number of students from each group representing the 3rd, 4th, and 5th grades. Third and fourth graders dominated the typical group, but fourth and fifth graders dominated the atypical group.

Case study results indicated that informants were similar with respect to the value they placed on norms that demand obedience from external authority sources, such as authority figures, rules and laws, and punishment. Moreover, informants seemed to exhibit an emerging preference for the norm affiliation, which represents an internally imposed moral obligation. The defining difference in informants reasoning patterns, however, was found in their ability to understand the needs of others and to use this information to make moral judgements. The reasoning of informants with EBD and many

of their typical peers appeared to be preconventional and self-focused, but the reasoning of two typical peers, one 3rd grader and one 5th grader, appeared to be conventional and other-focused. These results seem to call into question the sufficiency of the developmental process to direct the development of children's moral orientation. Experience appears to play an important, if not defining role, in the development of children's morality.

CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION

The purpose of the present study was to employ a cognitive developmental approach to examine EBD from a previously unexplored perspective. This approach permits the study of EBD as a complex relationship among cognition, emotion, and behavior in ways that can extend current knowledge and broaden the conceptual foundations of special education. From this perspective, I examined the moral reasoning processes of students with EBD as an expression of a lived reality, couched in the maturational process (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a; Dewey, 1916/1944; Piaget, 1932/1965). Thus, a child with EBD is viewed as an active participant in the creation of a lived reality whose dimensions are related in the child's verbal reasoning.

Previously, researchers have investigated effective responses to the maladaptive behavior of students with EBD using behavior analytic and cognitive-behavioral approaches that emphasize the principles of conditioning and learning to foster the development of prosocial behavior. In contrast, Piaget (1932/1965) argued that a child's actions do not reveal the child's motivations. To understand motivations, researchers must move beyond merely observing how precise the child is in respecting rules and examine the child's reasoning. The way children think and feel about their behavior is as much a part of social behavior as is the most overt cooperative or hostile act (Dewey, 1916/1944). Piaget suggested that difficult children supply the richest material for analysis; yet, only two studies (Astor, 1994; Astor & Behre, 1997) have been published that examine the reasoning processes of elementary children with EBD. As a result, the

relationship between reasoning and behavior continues to be mysterious (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a).

Overview of the Study

The present study was designed to employ a cognitive developmental approach to examine the relationships among moral reasoning, trait anger, and EBD. I included elementary aged students because the number of students with EBD seems to increase rapidly during the elementary years (OSEP, 1998), 3rd – 5th grade present the best opportunity for intervention (e.g., Walker et al., 1995), and mid to late elementary years provide a context for rapid growth in the development of moral judgement (Piaget, 1932/1965). Because the population of students with EBD is characterized by a disproportionate number of African American males and students with low SES (Kauffman, 1995), I included gender, SES, and ethnicity in my analyses. I also included reading comprehension as a cognitive variable, trait anger as an emotional variable, and the student's grade in school to gauge developmental change.

I used an ex post facto criterion group design to explore the relationship between EBD and moral reasoning in typical and atypical samples and case study research methods to add depth and richness to the quantitative results. The sample for the causal comparative research was randomly selected (N = 77) and stratified on the variable SES. The informant sample (N = 12) for the case study research was purposively sampled from the participant sample.

Using quantitative analyses, I identified significant relationships among all variables of interest (i.e., moral theme comprehension, atypical/typical group, grade, SES, gender, ethnicity, trait anger, and reading comprehension), followed by a

simultaneous multiple regression analysis to identify predictor variable(s). I coded informants' responses to moral dilemma interviews by identifying issue choices and moral judgments. I also identified the norms and moral elements embedded in the moral judgements, seeking a window into informants' basic motives, feelings, and desires.

Summary of the Findings

Analyses of participants' responses to the moral theme comprehension tasks of the MTI (Narvaez et al., 1999) indicated that SES, reading comprehension, ethnicity, and trait anger were significantly related to moral theme comprehension. The relationship between EBD and moral theme comprehension was not significant, but results show that African American students, males, and students with low SES were disproportionately represented in the population of students with EBD. Moreover, ethnicity was confounded with SES. Trait anger was not related to any of the other independent variables, but the results of the simultaneous multiple regression showed that trait anger was the only significant predictor of moral theme comprehension when accounting for all independent variables (i.e., atypical/typical group, SES, reading comprehension, gender, ethnicity, and grade).

Case study results indicated that the reasoning of informants with EBD and many of their typical peers with low SES appeared to be self-focused. In contrast, the reasoning of two typical peers from middle income families, one 3rd grader and one 5th grader, appeared to be other-focused. The results of quantitative and qualitative analyses seem to question the sufficiency of the developmental process to direct the development of children's morality, and suggest that experience may play an influential, if not defining role in the development of children's morality.

Discussion

The purpose of my study was to employ a cognitive-developmental approach to examine the relationships among moral reasoning (cognition), trait anger (emotion), and behavior in 3rd, 4th, and 5th grade students with EBD and their typical peers. If taken at face value, the results present an unfocused, seemingly meaningless picture of this relationship, but if one examines the picture with the aid of a theoretical lens, the image sharpens and the meaning of the results becomes more visible.

Previous theory building efforts have been two pronged. While structural theorists have argued for (e.g., Bussey, 1992; Jones & Gall, 1995) and against (e.g., Laupa & Turiel, 1995) the development of moral judgement as a maturational process, social constructivist have taken an experiential, or cultural perspective to describe the development of morality (e.g., Brown et al.,1995; Shweder et al., 1987). Piaget (1932/1965), however, portrayed the development of morality as dependent on both maturation and experience. He found that while the development of perspective taking seemed to be somewhat dependent upon the maturational process, it also functioned as an important catalyst in the development of morality by opening the door to cooperative relationships based on solidarity with peers and mutual respect with adult authority. In this way, Piaget seemed to offer experience, not the developmental process, as the central component in the development of moral judgment.

Indeed, the results of the present study seem to question the sufficiency of the developmental process to explain differences in children's reasoning processes. For example, causal comparative analyses did not result in the finding of a developmental effect and case study results identified numerous examples of cases in which moral

reasoning was not motivated by themes of cooperation. According to these results, experience, not maturation, appears to play a more influential, if not a defining role, in the development of children's moral judgement. Children's experiences, however, are not easily measured. Nevertheless, by integrating causal comparative and case study results, I gained insight into some of the experiences that shaped participants' subjective realities, thereby describing how experience might influence the development of moral orientation.

Causal-Comparative Results

The purpose of the causal comparative analyses was to determine difference between the scores students with EBD and their typical peers on a measure of moral theme comprehension and to evaluate which of seven independent variables (i.e., atypical/typical group, gender, grade, SES, ethnicity, reading comprehension, and trait anger) would predict participants' moral theme composite scores. Bivariate correlations showed that EBD was not related to moral theme comprehension but that SES, ethnicity, trait anger, and reading comprehension were. Moreover, I found that the relationships among SES, ethnicity, and reading comprehension were also significant and that trait anger was not related to any of the other independent variables.

To further complicate matters, EBD was related to ethnicity, reading comprehension, SES, and gender, three of the four variables related to moral theme comprehension. This finding is consistent with Kauffman's (1995) portrayal of EBD population characteristics as disproportionate with respect to ethnicity, gender, achievement, and SES and it also prescribes caution when interpreting the relationship between EBD and moral theme comprehension. In fact, EBD and moral theme comprehension might indeed be related, but this relationship might be expressed

primarily through the disproportionate representation of African-American students with low SES who exhibit low average achievement within the EBD sample. Interview results seemed to support this interpretation. None of the participants with EBD, regardless of ethnicity or SES, voiced themes of cooperation in their moral judgements. In addition, while pilot results also determined that ethnicity and SES were related, the relationship between ethnicity and moral theme comprehension was non-significant. In the pilot, however, SES is not controlled.

The non-significant finding for the relationship between grade and moral theme comprehension reported in the pilot was replicated in these results. Although the typical and atypical groups were unbalanced with respect to grade, chi square analyses showed that the entire participant sample was within expected proportions with respect to grade. Therefore, the grade distribution should not have presented limitations to a finding of a developmental effect as others have found in typical samples (e.g., Bussey, 1992; Jones & Gall, 1995, Zelazo, et al., 1996) if both groups were answering in developmentally described patterns. For example, Narvaez et al. (1999) found difference between 3rd and 5th grader's ability to detect moral themes in stories, even when controlling for reading comprehension. In the present study, the participants with EBD were older than their typical peers, lending additional evidence that the failure to find a developmental effect may have been because the moral theme composite scores generated by the participants with EBD were not consistent with previously described patterns in typical samples of 3rd-5th graders. Thus, failure to find a developmental effect may indicate that the participants with EBD were not meeting the developmental milestones described by Piaget (1932/1965) and Colby and Kohlberg (1987) when responding to the task of

recognizing moral themes of cooperation in stories. Once again, case study results seem to support this interpretation. None of the students with EBD voiced themes of cooperation in their moral judgements, a pattern similar to that of their typical peers with low SES, but different from two typical peers with middle/high SES.

Another purpose of the causal comparative analyses was to determine which of the seven variables would retain a significant relationship with moral theme comprehension after accounting for all other independent variables. As expected, trait anger became the best single predictor of moral theme comprehension and contrary to expectations, reading comprehension was not determined to be a significant predictor of moral theme comprehension. An examination of zero order correlations showed that reading comprehension was more strongly related to moral theme comprehension ($r = .37$) than was trait anger ($r = -.29$), but unlike trait anger, reading comprehension was also related to three other variables that were related to moral theme comprehension; ethnicity, SES, and group. Caution, therefore, should be exercised in interpreting the predictive significance of ethnicity, SES, and reading comprehension, because not only were these three variables related to moral theme comprehension, they were also strongly related to each other. Moreover, the relationships between ethnicity and reading comprehension ($r = .33$) and moral theme comprehension ($r = .39$) were also stronger than the relationship between trait anger and moral theme comprehension and the strongest zero order correlations were between ethnicity and SES ($r = .49$) and reading comprehension ($r = .44$). As found in the pilot study, these results seem to point to SES as a considerable influence on participants' moral theme comprehension scores. Therefore, another plausible interpretation of the regression results might be that in

addition to trait anger, membership in the group of African American students with low SES and poor reading comprehension might also be a predictor of participants' ability to recognize moral themes of cooperation in stories. Considering that the population of students with EBD is disproportionate with respect to ethnicity, SES, and students who exhibit low achievement (Kauffman, 1995), failure to find difference between the typical and atypical groups might have been due to the disproportionate number of low SES students included in the participant sample.

Case Study Results

My analysis of interview data indicated that the moral judgments of typical peers with low SES and informants with EBD were not motivated by themes of cooperation, regardless of grade. In both groups, 3rd-5th graders voiced moral judgements motivated by egocentrism, a pattern that, according to Piaget (1932/1965) and Colby and Kohlberg (1987), should begin to dissipate by approximately the 1st-2nd grade. Therefore, case study results present evidence that poverty and EBD may influence the development of moral orientation and causal-comparative results showed that these two variables are also related to each other. Informed by theory, I hypothesized that if informants with low SES and informants with EBD were not meeting maturational expectations found by others (e.g., Colby & Kohlberg; Narvaez, et al. 1999) perhaps it was because the experiences that shaped their subjective realities were different from those of their middle and high-income typical peers.

According to Kauffman (1995), the societal role of students with EBD is frequently represented in their social and physical exclusion from the mainstream of the school community. This exclusion does not occur suddenly, but usually follows a history

of rejection by peers and teachers alike, frequently resulting in their removal from the mainstream (Kauffman). As a result, the relationship between a student with EBD and the school community becomes one of physical and social rejection. According to Colby and Kohlberg (1987a), individuals with low SES reason at lower stages because they, too, do not experience the same opportunity for participation in and identification with society and its institutions as do those who do not have low SES. Although experiences of rejection from the mainstream of society may be more subtle for students with low SES, some suggest that they are ever present nonetheless (e.g., Books, 1998; Colby & Kohlberg; Palakow, 1998). Inquiry, therefore, appears to focus on determining how exclusion and rejection might influence the development of moral judgement.

Moral judgements are judgments of value, not fact and they are social judgements involving people (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987); therefore, moral orientations are shaped through relationships with people. By analyzing the content and structure of informants' moral judgements, I gained entry into informants' subjective realities of their relationships with authority figures, peers, and their communities. Moreover, I was able to explore anomalies discovered within both quantitatively and qualitatively described patterns. For example, while students with low SES dominate the population of students with EBD, some students with EBD come from families that are not low SES and are not members of a minority population. Case study results showed that all three middle/high income informants with EBD expressed egocentrically motivated moral judgements and that one middle/high income typical peer also voiced a similarly focused moral orientation. These anomalies proved valuable in revealing clues about how children's experiences in relationships shaped their subjective realities and might influence the

development of moral orientation. As informants deliberated solutions to the moral dilemmas, they talked about individuals' relationships with authority figures, peers, and communities. As they reasoned through each moral problem, themes of justice and injustice pervaded their talk about relationships and they often spontaneously described the feelings that might accompany these differing relational experiences.

Relationships

Regardless of moral orientation, every informant expressed an overwhelming tendency to look to external sources of authority for information about moral obligation. On the other hand, when presented with a conflict between the moral authority of external sources and the need to maintain relationships, they seemed to voice an emerging preference to look inward for direction, frequently electing to side with the norm of affiliation instead of norms representing external sources of authority. In this respect, maintaining relations with others emerged as an important motivating theme in informants' responses.

> Allison: [The children do not want to go live with their grandfather because] they don't think their grandfather is gonna like them and they don't want to go to him. [When you live with someone who likes you] they're nice to you. If they're a kid they'll play with you and if they're a grownup they go out with you, you know, like to the mall or go out to lunch with you, if you're a grownup.

*Cory poignantly related his need for relationships as he justified his choice for stealing to save someone's life.

> If [Heinz's wife] died, it'd be one less person on the earth. [Why do we need to have people on earth.] So you could communicate and talk to them about your problems and stuff.

*Cory stated that one should be willing to steal to save a pet, too.

> Because they're your friend and if you don't have nobody else, they could be your friend. [Is that kind of the same reason why you think he needs to keep the wife alive, even if he doesn't love her] Yes. [Or a stranger]. Uh huh.

Albert voiced a concern about the possibility of losing a mother-child relationship

> If you didn't love your mother and you went up to her and said that to her . . . she would think that you didn't respect her . . . She might send you down to your step dad and she might say if you don't love me, you'll never see me again.

Allison, too, voiced a concern about what might happen if a daughter lost her connection with her mother.

> It's her mother and they've got a strong relationship with each other . . . I think the daughter should be concerned about her mother just like giving up on her. Thinks she's out of her hands. I can't control her and giving up on her and leaving her behind.

Informants who previously proclaimed an obligation to always obey the law, professed the morality of law breaking to maintain a relationship. For example, Barbie decided that the boxcar children should break the law and run away

> Because they should take care of their little brother. That's their responsibility . . . Since their parents are gone, it's the older one's responsibility to take care of the younger ones since he's younger.

Allison made the same connection between sibling relationships and the ethic of care.

> Because she should love her sister because they're related. They're part of the same family and they're closer than like anybody else. And she should care about . . . what happens to her sister. Because if her sister turns out [to be a liar and a cheater] you might turn out like that too.

In this example, Allison recognized that one's own moral growth is related to the moral growth of others.

The need for care and protection also became the primary motivator for maintaining relationships with adults. Allison stated, "The whole idea of living with your

mother, I think, is to protect you." Moreover, she decided that the boxcar children should go find their grandfather, even if he is mean, because, "He's a grownup and he can take care of them. He would protect them and feed them. And give them good clothes."

Albert reiterated the importance of the ethic of care in his relationship with his mother saying,

> She is very nice to me and gave birth to me. She takes care of me and she's like risking everything to get a new job so she can take care of us.

According to *Cory, "Sometimes when people go to a foster home they get split and then, they don't get treated right." For all of my informants, the comfort of relationships with peers, siblings, and adults, resided in their need for care and protection.

Just and Unjust Relationships

Children need to experience cooperation in relationships to develop a sense of personal agency with respect to moral decision making (Piaget, 1932/1965). When children's experiences with others are limited to submissively obedient, unjust relationships, they appear to forfeit this opportunity. Sadly, results suggest that the reasoning patterns of a significant number of 3rd, 4th, and 5th grade participants who responded to the tasks presented on the MTI (Narvaez et al., 1999) and ten of my informants were similar, in many respects, to those Piaget found in 3-7 year olds. Therefore, I proposes that egocentrically focused moral reasoning may not be contingent upon maturation, but may indeed reflect children's experiences in unjust, obedience-focused relationships.

Injustice and obedience. Themes of injustice and submissive obedience walked hand in hand throughout the moral judgements of a majority of my informants. Sometimes their judgements centered on adult behavior and the injustices that can occur

when imbalances of power exist. For example, when asked about a scout's obligation to obey a scoutmaster's unfair request, *Bonnie replied, "She shouldn't go get it if it wasn't her chore. [But should she obey the scoutmaster?]Yes. [Why?] So she wouldn't get in trouble." *Bonnie thought compliance with the scoutmaster request was unfair, but she determined that the scout had no choice. She must obey the scoutmaster or face certain trouble.

Many of my informants agreed with Bonnie. Adult authority must be obeyed, even when valued norms of fairness are being violated. Adult authority is absolute and all-powerful; adults can act with impunity. According to *Bonnie, "There's no one to put [adults] in trouble . . . There's no older person [they] can get in trouble by." Submission to adult commands via unquestioning obedience is a child's only choice. In fact, *Alex described the relationship between child and adult as salve-like, advising that the boxcar children tell authorities who they are and where they are from so they can be returned to their "owners."

Allison described parents who misuse the balance of power as mean. "[When grownups don't like you and they're mean to you] they don't give you stuff. And they talk harshly, and sometimes they punish you for no reason." Unlike *Bonnie, *Alex and many of the others, she recognized the damage parents can do to relationships when they behave unfairly. Allison reasoned that parents should issue punishment with fairness

> Because if one of the boys didn't [play with the scissors], and he still got punished, he'd think his mother was mean and it's not good to have a child think you're mean.

Sadly, themes of abuse and harsh punishment frequently invaded informants' judgements when they talked about the absolute power of adult authority. For example, *Allen expressed his concerns about adults' abuse of power saying,

> [Why shouldn't the children take Violet to the doctor?] Because if the grandfather is mean, he'll probably abuse them. And they'll probably run away again.

*Allen proclaimed that sometimes children are justified in running away. "Like when your parents are mistreating you really bad. Like hitting you in the face all the time and abusing you." Moreover, he attributed his knowledge about the inadequacies of punishment to his mother's participation in child abuse classes.

> Because my mom took this child abuse class that teaches you what to do and not try to do child abuse. And she says that talking to them nicely would do better than just spanking them cause pain goes away, but words cannot escape.

Meanwhile, *Allen also shared that his dad, "[L]oves to spank me and get all up in my face and say, 'Go to your room.'"

Albert also spoke of the injustice of harsh punishment.

> And he like just spanked me and [said], "You're never gonna break that glass again, right?" But I didn't [do it]. And then he kept on spanking me until I said, yes sir. And I got like, spanked about ten times.

On several occasions, informants described caretakers as mean and brutal. *Alex reasoned that Louise should not tell on Judy because she might be blamed for being a tattletale. Moreover, he described punishment to include "getting punched" or getting "your mouth washed out with soap." Yet, he consistently favored punishment because talking to children "wouldn't do no good."

*Brian voiced the same reasoning pattern. After stating that the grandfather would probably "torture them," if he found the boxcar children, Brian still determined that the best decision was to

> Go back to their grandfather . . . Because he can provide them with money and shelter. Well they already have shelter, but he can just provide them with food and money and stuff.

Interestingly, *Brian was so concerned about punishment and the physical pain it inflicted that he was unable to make a decision when presented with a conflict between the issues of punishment and conscience. He reasoned that punishment was necessary to motivate obedience, but also favored explaining because, "It's better than just like, getting beat up for something that you didn't know. You have to teach kids about that." *Cory, too, favored punishment, but proclaimed that a father's motivation to punish was to hurt people;" therefore, a father might choose to explain instead, "Because you could put bruises on them and you would go to jail."

Justice and mutual respect. To develop a sense of cooperation and a need to care for others, children must experience justice motivated by fairness (Piaget,1932/1965). For example, Carl determined fairness by employing the ethic of reciprocity. He judged appealing to a child's conscience as the right choice in addressing disobedience because, "The child wouldn't be able to spank the daddy [if he did something the child didn't like] so, I guess the one who just explains is fair." Moreover, Carl proclaimed,

> [The mother] is the one who wants her daughter to not lie and she should do the same thing. She shouldn't put her daughter up to something that the mother can't even do herself.

Both Carl and Allison relied primarily on equality as a measure of mutual respect. On occasion, however, they imposed the ethic of equity to guide decision making.

> Allison: [The mother should not punish the boys who played with the scissors] because before she explained not to do it, she didn't say they'd be punished. She said just not to play with them. So they didn't know why not to play with them.

In the present study, only Allison and Carl were able to verbalize how experiences of mutual respect with external sources of authority affect judgement. According to Carl, equality is an important aspect of fairness.

> [F]air is if you both work for something and you all got it. Y'all worked the same, then y'all should get the same, you know. One shouldn't get more than the other.

In the following example, Allison prophetically elaborated the positive effects when children experience equality in mutually respecting relationships.

> Because if they didn't feel like they were equal, then they might just stop, you know. Stop doing work like schoolwork or something. Something really bad might happen to them. But if they feel like they're equal, they'll have a say so and stand up to what's going on.

According to Allison, mutually respecting, just relationships with authority provide experiences that empower children by including them as equal partners in the decision making process. In this regard, Allison invoked her own experience when she talked about Judy's relationship with her mother.

> [Judy should get to spend her money however she wants] because she earned the money. My mom thinks this isn't right, but she earned the money so I think she could spend it on whatever she wanted to spend it on.

In this example, Allison shows that she is not afraid to "stand up for what's going on" because even though she and her mother may disagree, in a just, mutually respecting relationship, adult authority gives voice to the child.

Feelings

None of the demographic variables (i.e., SES, ethnicity, gender, and EBD) was directly related to trait anger; yet, anger proved to be the only predictor of moral theme comprehension. Researchers present anger as a mysterious, complex emotion that appears to play a role in the development of other emotions (e.g., Berkowitz, 1990, Clay et al., 1993; Levine, 1995; Hains & Szjkowiski, 1990); therefore, children might express feelings other than anger when faced with a injustice (Kassinove & Sukhodolsky, 1995; Shoemaker, Erickson, & Finch, 1986). Indeed, researchers have found that sometimes children describe anger when faced with injustice, and sometimes they report sadness (Fabes & Eisenberg, 1992; Lebolt et al., 1998; Levine, 1995; Murphy & Eisenberg, 1996). Apparently, discriminate validity is difficult to establish when measuring children's feelings of anger and sadness (Shoemaker et al.)

I did not include a measure of depression in my causal comparative analyses, but perusal of case study data revealed that my informants spoke of sadness, as well as anger, when they made judgments about injustice in relationships. Moreover, they described expectations of love and happiness as the positive benefits of relationships. According to my informants, anger and sadness are likely emotional responses to unjust, submissively obedient relationships and love and happiness are likely emotional responses to just, mutually respecting relationships. Informants explained that when love and happiness are realized in relationships, children feel empowered to develop an autonomously directed

ethic of care and concern for the welfare of others. In contrast, when their experiences are limited to unjust, submissively obedient relationships, retaliation and disobedience are likely responses.

Anger and sadness. As my informants prescribed judgement about the conflicts presented, they often shared their feelings. In the following example, Albert related a personal experience with injustice and vividly described the intense feelings of anger that resulted.

> My other little brother, my stepbrother Ned, he [pause]. I had this action figure. He doesn't really know what my dad's hammer does, but he took my dad's hammer out of his tool belt and slammed in on my action figure and he broke it into pieces that were like an inch tall. I was just so mad that my pressure just got out of rage and I yelled at him. But anger just took over me and I knew I wasn't supposed to yell at him, at my little brother, but my anger just took control of me . . . So instead, I got in trouble. I told my dad that Ned got the hammer and slammed it on my action figure and broke it into pieces. [And the stepfather said] He's just a baby. [Albert adds] I know Ned knows what that thing does.

When informants perceived injustices in the actions of authority figures and peers, they described anger, sometimes accompanied by retaliation, as a likely emotional response. For example, *Brian voiced anger and a need to retaliate when judging the actions of a mother who was demanding moral behavior from her daughter that she did not consider binding on her own behavior. He tallied the mother's moral indiscretion score advising that,

> Louise shouldn't tell. Because the mother did two things wrong and the child did one thing wrong. I mean the mother did three things wrong and the child did two things wrong. [Tell me what three things the mother did wrong?] The mother broke a promise, and she made her child mad. That's two so far, and I forget the third thing that I was going to say.

Like Albert, just talking about the injustice brought to mind such intense feelings of anger that he couldn't remember what he wanted to say.

*Cory, too, prescribed that Louise should keep quiet, "Because [the mother] made a promise that she couldn't keep . . . Then [she'll] be lying." When asked why is it wrong to break promises, *Cory responded, "Because sometimes when you don't keep your promise you hurt other people's feelings. And sometimes you hurt yours too." I noted a subtle hint of intense anger as *Cory went on to explain that when a mother lies, the daughter is no longer obligated to obey. "Because . . . a daughter might not like her mom, and she might not talk to her or when her mother asks her to do something, she'll say no."

Likewise, Betty predicted the same angry response when asked what might happen if mothers break their promises. She agreed with other informants that broken promises make children angry and can lead to retaliation, "Then they'll try to do something that they weren't supposed to do." Barbie warned that friends should keep their promises, too, or they may suffer wrath and retaliation. "[I]f you hurt somebody's feelings, maybe somebody will hurt your feelings and you'll see how they feel."

Allison described how fear can turn to anger and anger can lead to retaliation when a parent is perceived as harsh and unjust in issuing punishment. Allison proclaimed that, "[If punished unjustly], the little boy will start acting afraid. And if you're afraid of something, then you start acting mean also." Barbie agreed with Allison's conceptualization of the effects of harsh punishment saying, "Maybe [the boy] who got a whipping, maybe he was mad at his dad [for whipping him]. Maybe he decided to keep [the pen]."

*Allen situated his moral judgements about peer relations in the context of a real experience, explaining how a friend broke a promise to him and it made him "very mad and sad, upset." Other informants, as well, described feelings of sadness when faced with

injustice. For example, *Bonnie reasoned that promises should be kept "because, people get all happy when you say you promise them. And it kind of puts them down when you say no." *Alex invoked sadness to describe the feelings of both parties when a mother breaks her promise. "[The daughter] will start crying . . . [Because] the mom broke her heart," and the mother will be crying too, "because she broke a promise with her daughter."

Using this same logic, Allison decided that the boxcar children should find their grandfather and go live with him because, "Their grandfather might miss them. He might be sad." Allison also spoke in general terms about feelings of sadness that may result when relationships are broken.

> [I]f you leave somebody, someone could be so sad that something really bad could happen to them. Like they could, you know, do something against the law just because they are so sad.

As with anger, Allison predicted retaliation against authority when injustice brings about feelings of sadness.

Love and happiness. Informants also talked about expectations of love and happiness as a result of social relationships. For example, *Alex posed love as the only condition that would justify stealing saying Heinz should steal because, "He loves her very, very much" and *Cory agreed, stating that Heinz should steal to keep his wife alive "because they love each other."

Informants often described love as a vital component of the parent-child relationship, as well. Indeed, love seemed to represent the glue that binds social relationships in spite of imbalances in power. In the following example, Allison declared love to be the foundation of a just relationship with one's mother.

> [I]t's her mother and they've got a strong relationship with each other . . . Even if the daughter lies to her mother, or you know, like they still get mad at each other, they still love each other.

When questioned about disobedience, Allison prescribed love, not fear of punishment, as the motivational force that fuels a child's desire to "tell the truth." Likewise, Albert, who made frequent references to personal experiences with harsh unjust punishment from his stepfather, stated that even though your dad punishes you, "He still loves you."

*Cory, too, stated that, "the most important thing [for a daughter] to think [about is] that her mom love[s] her." Albert used the same logic saying that the most important thing a mother can do is, "To love her [daughter] and to keep loving her for all of her life." In contrast, *Bonnie used love to justify children's obligation to obey their mothers, even when mothers break promises, "because it's right." Nevertheless, *Allen judged that promises should be kept "Because it makes people feel good."

Allison extolled the bonds of love and the ethic of care in sibling relationships saying,

> She should love her sister because they're related. They're part of the same family and they're closer than like anybody else. And she should care about her sister . . .

or a brother, "Because he's your family and . . . you love him. So you wouldn't want him to be anywhere else besides with you." Allison reasoned that the boxcar children should take their sick sibling to the hospital

> Because they don't want their sister to die. They love each other and they'd feel real sad. They want her to be as happy as she can be. She's only a little girl, so she should live longer.

Moreover, Albert responded that he would give all of his lunch to his little stepbrother, a central character in many of his tirades about injustice, because, "I love him."

According to my informants, just mutually respecting relationships that engender feelings of love and happiness appear to empower an internally imposed sense of morality that is not guided by rules or laws, but is obligated by the ethic of care and a genuine concern for welfare of others.

Moral Orientation

Although causal comparative results indicated that trait anger was the only predictor of participants' ability to understand moral themes in stories, informants responses to moral dilemmas suggested that anger may be only one of several emotions that can occur as a result of children's experiences in relationships. For example, when faced with unjust, submissively obedient relationships, my informants described feelings of anger and sadness and predicted disobedience and retaliation as likely responses. On the other hand, they defined love and happiness as the emotional concomitants of just, mutually respecting relationships and prescribed the ethic of care and protection as a likely response. Therefore, the data suggest that feelings of anger, sadness, love, and happiness are emotions that may directly influence the motivation of moral orientation. Anger and sadness seem to motivate precoventional level orientations and love and happiness seem to motivate conventional level orientations.

Preconventional level: Punishment obedience and personal reward orientations. Individuals whose verbal responses typified preconventional reasoning consistently employed an egocentric perspective when making moral judgements. While previous conceptualizations have portrayed predominately self-focused reasoning in individuals over the age of 9 as developmentally atypical (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a), the data suggested the phenomenon might be adaptive. For example, when children's

relationships with adult authority are unjust, submissively obedient, and punitive, their general perception of external sources of authority as all-powerful and absolute is understandable.

> Albert: I saw this one episode of Walker Texas Ranger . . . In The Client . . . In the Bible.
>
> *Bonnie: [Where do laws come from?] From the police.
>
> *Brian: [Where did laws come from?] Heaven . . . It's God. Because God tells the spirit people and then spirit people go down to earth and tell us humans what to write down.
>
> Chris: [Where do laws come from?] I can't remember what the branch was in my social studies book. [Do they just think them up on their own?] Yeah, maybe . . . [Why do we have laws?] Because we can't do everything that we want to do.
>
> *Carey: [Why is it important to obey laws?] Because God made all the rules in the United States.

In addition, if individuals do not obey all-powerful sources of authority, they may risk the consequences of eminent justice.

> Albert: Well, I would listen to my mom because they're a lot older and it says in the Bible you should respect your parents or I will punish you in some way in actions. Like, I guess I disobeyed my mom and I stepped on my belt [buckle] and it took some of the skin off my foot.
>
> *Allen: Yes because after [the boy] got whooped he's like I should have never took that pen. So then he probably returned it.

When children are required to navigate issues of obligation in master-slave type relationships, they must employ a morality motivated by instrumental purpose to seek justice for themselves. In unjust, submissively obedient relationships, punishment is often a harsh reality, but never a certainty.

> *Allen: Because it's bad to steal and you could probably get in trouble, deep trouble. You could probably go to jail.

> *Cory: Because if you don't [obey the law] sometimes you go to jail.

One must calculate the probability of getting caught if moral authority is defied.

In fact, sometimes disobedience might result in reward.

> *Brian: Like God is in my heart at all times and I would steal it even though it's not right. [Because you think you should be willing to go to jail to save someone else?] Yeah, you might even be able to get out of prison with $2000 dollars.
>
> *Cory: If he steal it might, something good might happen to him for keeping the person alive.

Therefore, one must carefully weigh the consequences when determining the obligatory always remembering the importance of selfish claims. *Brian explained, [What should the judge do about Heinz?] Let him free. [Why?] I don't know. Cause I like Heinz."

According to *Cory,

> [A good mother] brag[s] about her [daughter] and talk[s] about her a lot. Her daughter been in the newspaper for something good . . .She would want her mama to say, "My daughter was in the newspaper for helping somebody." . . . She would want her mama telling all her friends that her daughter helped somebody.

At times, my informants' self-focused thinking seemed benign, requiring only patience while maturation and experience take their courses. At other times, however, their egocentric judgments provided chilling examples of how dangerous, antisocial behavior can be portrayed as justice when one's judgements are egocentrically motivated.

> Albert: [Is it important for people to do everything they can to save another person's life]. Well, that depends on if they [they one who needs saving] is good or bad.
>
> *Brian: [If it's wrong to steal, but right to try to save someone's life, what should Heinz do?] I think Heinz should give the [druggist] sleeping medicine and take [the drug].
>
> *Allen: If they want [Violet] to die, well don't take her [to the hospital], but if they want her to live . . . take her. [Would there be a situation where you wanted someone to die?] No. Well, yeah, once . . . If they like killed

somebody or something. If they killed somebody and I wanted them to die.

Conventional level: Good boy/nice girl and law and order orientation. Researchers suggest that conventional reasoning emerges developmentally from preconventional reasoning, usually by the age of 9 (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987a). The data indicated that the emergence of conventional reasoning may be contingent upon one's participation in mutually respecting, just relationships, not age. Case study results indicated that Allison and Carl were the only two informants who voiced conventional reasoning patterns using a member of society perspective that successfully coordinates the separate perspectives of preconventional reasoning into a third party perspective, one of mutually trusting relationships.

Similar to other informants, themes of moral realism pervaded their judgements, but they predicated their desire to maintain rules and obey authority figures on a need to maintain just, mutually respecting relationships. For Allison, individuals are obligated to maintain a socially shared system of norms in an effort to meet the expectations of intimate relationships as a daughter, son, sibling, student, and friend.

Allison: [Does it matter what your dad thinks about you?] Yes . . . You want him to think that you're a good kid . . . And that he can trust you . . . That you don't steal or hurt other people.

In contrast, Carl employed a societal perspective, maintaining the value of law to produce social order and harmony.

Carl: [Why is it important to obey the law?] Because they have the police, the marines corps, the army and all of the stuff that will protect us. And schools which educate the children.

Carl: [What is the job of a police officer] To catch the robbers, and to protect society. Make sure people follow the law. If they don't they'll have

> to handcuff them and send them to jail. And let the court decide if they'll go to jail permanent or, or if they're innocent.

The intent of both perspectives, however, is getting along with others.

> Allison: [What would be the good brother's reasons for not telling on the foolish brother] He probably doesn't want his other brother to get told on, [because] maybe [he would] get in trouble and [the good brother would] feel bad for the [foolish] brother. If he doesn't tell . . . the father won't like it because . . . now he has two deceitful childs instead of only one.

Likewise, Carl reasoned that laws must be obeyed to prevent a breakdown of the system, imposing an "if everybody did it" justification.

> [Why is it against the law for children to run away?] Because if children were allowed to run away, then there would be so many, like, homeless children. There'd be so many reports of people being gone and it'd just be . . better to make one rule that they can't run away. If there were a bunch of poor kids, you know, who have no money at all and they'll never get a job when they're older. So they'll always be beggars and stuff, you know. They may grow up to like, have to kill people to get money, you know. [T]hen there'd be reports about their kids running away, you know, and they can't find them and stuff like that. [I]t'd just be one big mess. Why not just make one law about it.

Carl and Allison both used the Golden Rule as a moral guide, but Carl couched his experience in a social system perspective.

> [Is stealing wrong because it is against the law?] That's not the only reason why [stealing] is wrong because if like, you wouldn't want people to steal from you, would you? No, so you still shouldn't steal because you don't want anyone to steal from you.

Both informants judged moral rules as binding on the behavior of adults and children equally. Allison used intimate relationships to describe fairness in terms of equality.

> Allison: [Can the mother expect the daughter to keep promises she breaks?] Yeah, I think that's bad because just because they're kids, doesn't mean that they don't get the same respect as adults.They're still people.

Whereas, Carl upheld equal protection under the law.

> [Where do laws come from?] From the government. [What is the job of lawmakers?] To make sure they make laws and . . . to make sure the laws are sometimes equal. So the judges might say that stealing is worse than murder, which isn't really worse. And they make sure that they go through on how important it is, you know, and what are the consequences.

Moreover, both seemed to have a basic understanding of the place of equity in fairness

> Allison: [So you think it is important to tell the children why they shouldn't play with the scissors.] Yes, because before she explained not to do it, she didn't say they'd be punished. She said just not to play with them. Say, so they didn't know why not to play with them . . . If I were their parent, I just wouldn't leave them alone.

Carl tended to employ a generalized system perspective when passing judgement while Allison preferred to use a perspective grounded in intimate relationships. Regardless, cooperation and a concern for the welfare of others motivated the judgements of both informants. Gilligan (1982) argued that this kind of difference in social perspective is not maturational, but may be due, instead, to cultural influences on gender roles. Therefore, the differences in Carl and Allison's reasoning may reflect cultural differences, not maturational differences. In fact, Allison, a 3rd grader, provided the only example of a principled judgement throughout the entire interview process.

> [Do you have any rule for how you decide when it's right to break a law?] Well, when something's bad happening, when something's happening to you that's bad, then, I think, you should break the law. But it has to be very serious because they make the law for a reason. [And what is that reason?] So that people are safe.

In this example, Allison imposed judgement using a prior-to-society perspective, recognizing that the purpose of convention is to promote universal moral principles. When the principle is not upheld by obedience to convention, then the principle, not the convention, represents the obligatory.

Experience and the Development of Moral Orientation

In Figure 5.1, I propose a conceptual framework that presents children's experiences in relationships as the central component in the development of moral orientation. My framework employs a theoretical lens to interpret the causal-correlational and case study results and is intended to be a hermeneutic for discovery. According to my conceptualization, experiences in mutually respecting relationships engender positive feelings that facilitate the development of an other-focused moral orientation premised on the ethic of cooperation and care. On the other hand, experiences in unjust, submissively obedient relationships foster negative feelings that limit the development of moral orientation to one that is guided by egocentric concerns.

Limitations

The results of causal-comparative and case study research cannot be used to establish causality. Other more rigorous research methodologies such as structural equation modeling are required to test causal relationships among constructs. To develop my conceptual framework, I integrated the causal-comparative and case study results with theory and previous research to justify the causal relations presented within the framework. While case study results facilitate elaboration and explanation and allow the exploration of exceptions that exist within quantitatively described patterns, the results of case study research are limited in generalizability to persons and contexts included in the study. Furthermore, the external validity of the causal-comparative results was also compromised when I controlled for SES using stratified sampling. As a result, the typical and atypical samples were not representative of the populations from which they were drawn with respect to SES. Therefore, I encourage others to examine my

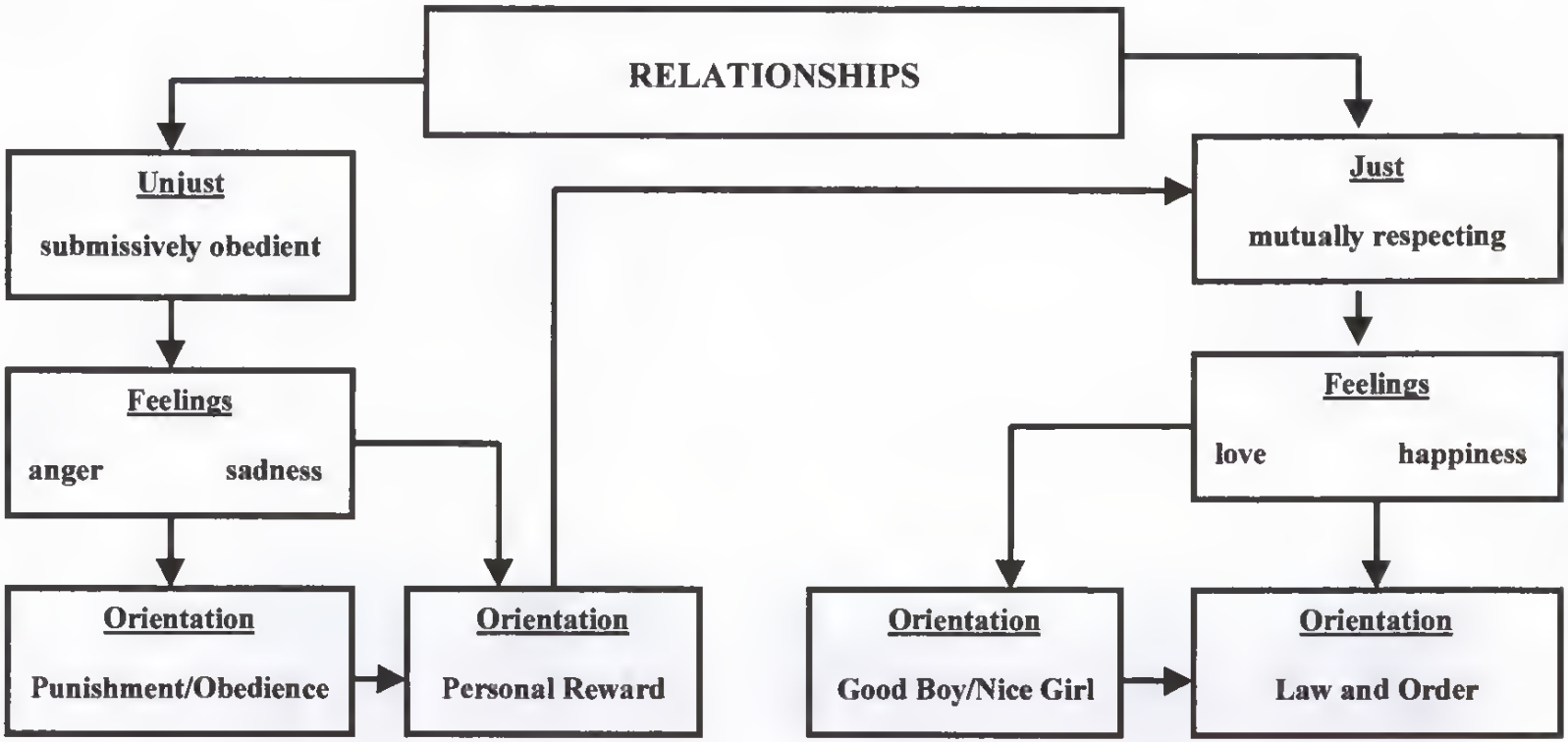

Figure 5.1: Conceptual Model for the Development of Moral Orientation

conceptualization as a hermeneutic for discovery that may enhance theory-building efforts.

There are also additional limitations related to instrumentation. The MTI (Narvaez et al. 1999) cannot be used to determine respondent's moral orientations; it is a measure of moral theme comprehension. Therefore, moral orientation is assessed by the degree to which the respondent selects cooperation or does not select cooperation as a moral motivator in the stories presented. In addition, the low reliability estimates for this administration of the MTI (Narvaez et al.) present concerns about the validity of the results. On the other hand, reliability may have been effected by sample homogeneity with respect to grade and SES and the use a shortened version of the test. Narvaez et al. developed the test for use with elementary aged children, however, they included adults in their sample, which may have resulted in greater score variability and higher reliability than one would expect if only elementary aged children were included in the sample. Moreover, Narvaez and Bock (2000) encouraged using two stories instead of one in the administration manual limiting the length of the test, however, they do not report the effects this decision may have on reliability.

The use of Jacobs and Blumer's (1984) Feelings Questionnaire to measure trait anger also posed several limitations tot he interpretation of the study results. According to Kassinove and Sukhodolsky (1995) feelings refer to the language-based, self-perceived, phenomenological state. Therefore, feelings are subjective and may not be an accurate description of emotion. In contrast, emotion refers to the complex of self-perceived feeling states, physiological reaction patterns, and associated behaviors. Shoemaker et al. (1986) found that the subjective nature of self-report measures of children's emotions did

not appear to correspond well with more objective peer nomination and teacher report measures, but they found a strong correlation between peer nomination and teacher report measures. These authors reported that the results of their study of depression and anger in 3rd and 4th grade boys failed to support the discriminant validity of self-report measures of depression and anger.

Finally, the complicated network of interrelations among the seven independent variables also presented limitations to the interpretation of the results. For example, I could not conclusively evaluate the relationships among reading comprehension, ethnicity, and EBD and moral theme comprehension because all of these variables were related to SES and were also related to each other. Furthermore, I was unable to assess the developmental effect because the atypical and typical samples were unbalanced with respect to grade.

Implications

The results of the present study provide evidence that the moral orientation of students with EBD is different from some, but not all, of their typical peers. The correlation analysis indicated that poverty, ethnicity, reading comprehension, and anger are related to participants ability to understand themes of cooperation in moral stories; however, because ethnicity was confounded with SES, the results pertaining to ethnicity should be viewed with caution. Moreover, the relationship between EBD and moral theme comprehension only approached significance, but EBD was found to be significantly related to poverty, ethnicity, and reading comprehension. Interestingly, results indicated that EBD was not related to trait anger. The case study results provided additional support for the quantitative findings, and, more importantly, proved vital in

facilitating insight into the basic intent and feelings that existed in my informants' subjective realities of their relationships with authority and peers.

Professional Practice

The implications of the results are far reaching with respect to practice. First, the finding that the moral orientation of students with EBD and many of their typical peers may be limited to preconventional reasoning serves to remind educators that students with EBD were, at one time, typical peers, themselves. Therefore, one important implication may be that while students with EBD frequently experience a physical rejection from the learning community, many typical peers may be experiencing the same kind of rejection, but not as profoundly. To adequately address the moral education of students with EBD and many of their typical peers, researchers need to conduct a critical, in depth analysis of the hidden curriculum, identifying the structures that support the rejection of some children and the inclusion of others in the educative processes.

Results indicate that realizing the meaningfully inclusion of all children in the learning community may be vital if educators are to foster the development of responsible citizens and perhaps prevent the debilitating, long-term effects of EBD. Therefore, the meaning of the terms "democratic education" and "good teaching" must be operationalized into a professional practice that includes all learners as equal participants. Kohlberg's Just Community represents a promising approach toward moral education because it is couched in the philosophy of democratic education. According to Power and his coauthors (1989), Kohlberg conceived this approach as a way to teach the principles of justice and development a sense of fairness in learning communities. The educative context for the approach is a participatory democracy that deliberately employs the

hidden curriculum to advocate for collective rather than individual achievement, equal rather than stratified social relations, and democratic rather than hierarchical decision making. By implementing the ideal of democratic schooling, educators seek to facilitate the development of character and a strong sense of social responsibility.

As indicated, the Just Community is far more than an intervention designed to teach children socially acceptable "oughts" and "shoulds". The Just Community employs a cognitive-developmental approach to classroom and school management that is specifically designed to operationalize the principles of democratic education and good teaching. The effectiveness of this approach, however, has not been examined in elementary classrooms where it might have an early impact on the development of children's morality. Therefore, the promise of this approach for elementary school students should be investigated.

Teacher Preparation

To develop ethically focused children, we must deliberately influence the development of ethically focused teachers. New approaches toward classroom management can not be implemented successfully unless the architects of children's classroom experiences, their teachers, are included in the re-creation of the learning community. Teachers are required daily to make ethical decisions about the educative and social needs of their students; yet, ethics is not usually a component of preservice education. To conceptualize and implement learning communities based on the ethic of meaningful inclusion in just, cooperative relationships, preservice teachers should be required to study ethics and should participate in a democratic learning communities as a part of their preservice education. In this way, preservice teachers can be provided with

the ethical tools they most certainly will need when, in practice, they are called upon to apply ever changing social conventions such as law, policy, and fads to make important moral decisions about children's educational and social development.

Future Research

Future research on children's moral development should include rigorous inquiries employed to identify the causal relationships among behavior, emotion, and moral reasoning. Such inquiries, however, will require the development of additional reliable, valid, and sensitive measures of emotion, behavior, and moral reasoning. For the present study, I used the special education designation of EBD as a behavioral measure; however, this is not a reliable measure of antisocial behavior. The typical sample may have included students who also exhibited significant behavior problems, but were not identified as EBD (Kauffman, 1995). Future investigations should include valid measures of maladaptive behavior that can provide reliable information about the relationship between behavior and reasoning.

Measuring the emotional concomitants of children's reasoning and behavior is difficult. For example, EBD may indicate the presence of anger as expressed in externalizing behaviors, depression or anxiety as expressed in internalizing behaviors, or a combination of all three (Kauffman, 1995). Moreover, researchers have found that there may be an overlap between the emotions of anger and sadness, presenting additional challenges in establishing discriminate validity when trying to measure children's emotions (Shoemaker et al., 1986). To continue the investigation into the relationship between moral reasoning and emotion, researchers will need to develop valid instruments that reliably assess children's emotional responses.

Finally, future explorations of the development of moral orientation will require the development of measures that are valid with respect to evaluating the salience of specific psychological structures (e.g., egocentrism, cooperation, moral realism) that define each orientation. The MTI (Narvaez et al., 1999) stories and tasks are lengthy and it presents moral dilemmas embedded in sophisticated interactions among setting, action, character, and theme. Furthermore, the interpretation of the results is limited to an evaluation of respondents' ability to recognize moral themes of cooperation in stories. My observation of informants' as they responded to the Piagetian dilemmas (1932/1965) suggest that short stories grounded in experiences relevant to most children's lives seemed to be more engaging and might provide more meaningful information about the structure and motivation of children's moral judgement. Therefore, I encourage the development of instruments that measure changes in moral judgement that occur prior to the development of cooperation in order to identify, implement, and evaluate interventions designed to address children's moral education needs at an early age when intervention is likely to be the most effective.

APPENDIX A
UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD DOCUMENTS

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

Institutional Review Board

98A Psychology Bldg.
PO Box 112250
Gainesville, FL 32611-2250
Phone: (352) 392-0433
Fax: (352) 392-9234
Email: irb2@ufl.edu
http://www.rgp.ufl.edu/irb/irb02

January 5, 2001

To: Stephen W. Smith, Ph.D.
315G Norman Hall
Campus

From: C. Michael Levy
University of Florida
Institutional Review Board

Subject: Renewal of Protocol #1999-937R

Title: A Study of Moral Reasoning in 3rd, 4th, and 5th Grade Students with Emotional Disturbance

Funding: Office of Special Education Programs, U.S. Department of Education

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I am pleased to inform you that the Board determined at its December 14, 2000 meeting your research presents no more than minimal risk. The Board voted to approve your renewal conditional upon explicit changes. Those changes have been received and we now issue this approval letter.

Attached is the approved informed consent for you to use with your project. If you wish to make further changes to this protocol you must disclose your plans prior to implementing them so that the Board can assess their impact on your protocol. In addition, you must report to the Board any unexpected complications that affect your participants.

This approval is valid until December 14, 2001. If you have not completed this protocol by then, please telephone our office at 392-0433 and we will discuss the renewal process with you. It is important that you keep your Department Chair informed about the status of this research protocol.

CML:dl

Department of Special Education
P.O. Box 117050
University of Florida
Gainesville, FL 32611-7050

Dear Parent/Guardian,

I am a doctoral student in the Department of Special Education at the University of Florida under the supervision of Dr. Stephen W. Smith, conducting research on children's moral reasoning. Moral reasoning refers to the child's explanation for making decisions among choices in situations where there may be no clear right or wrong answer. The results of the study may help educators understand how children make decisions about their own behavior and the behavior of others. These results may not directly help your child today, but may benefit students in the future.

The children who participate will be asked to listen to four stories in which characters are faced with a moral decision. For each story, they will be asked to answer ten true-false comprehension questions and to select the closest match to the moral message from a choice of six messages. Story one is about a girl who saves a man's cattle from being lost in a storm. Story two is about two good friends at school. Story three is about a boy who is babysitting his little sister. Story four is about a girl who is moving to a new home. The stories and questions are on tape (no reading required) and require two 30-minute periods (approximate) to complete. Your child will also be asked to complete a Feelings Questionnaire that takes about 15 minutes to complete. Your child's teacher will choose a time during the school day for your child to listen to the stories and complete the questionnaire. In addition, we will request the following information about your child: age, ethnicity, gender, free or reduced lunch eligibility, and achievement test scores. Children's names will not be recorded on their responses and the results will only be reported in the form of group data. Your child's identity will be kept confidential to the extent provided by law and participation or non-participation in this study will not affect your child's grades or placement in any programs.

Participation in this research study is voluntary, and you and your child have the right to withdraw at any time without consequence. There are no known risks or benefits to your child and no compensation is offered for participation. Group results of this study will be available in July upon request. If you have any questions about this research, please contact me at 392-0726 ext. 288 or my faculty supervisor, Dr. Smith, at 392-0701 ext. 247. Questions or concerns about your child's rights as research participant may be directed to the UFIRB office, University of Florida, Box 112250, Gainesville, FL 32611, (352) 392-0433.

Elizabeth L. Hardman

I have read the procedure described above. I voluntarily give my consent for my child, _____, to participate in Elizabeth Hardman's study of children's moral reasoning. I have received a copy of this description.

_____ _____ _____ _____

Parent / Guardian Date 2nd Parent / Witness Date

Assent Script 1
(Moral Theme Inventory)

My name is Elizabeth Hardman and I am a student at the University of Florida. I would like to ask you to listen to some stories and then mark on your answer sheets what you think is the closest match to the message of the story. I will be the only one to hear your answers and I will not tell any one what you say. You may stop at any time and you do not have to answer any questions you don't want to answer. Would you like to participate?

Assent Script 2
(Feelings Questionnaire)

My name is Elizabeth Hardman and I am a student at the University of Florida. I would like to complete a questionnaire about your feelings. I will read the questions and all of the answers and you will mark on your answer sheets if you agree or disagree with each statement. I will be the only person to see your answers and I will not tell anyone how you answered. You may stop at any time and you will not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer. Would you like to participate?

Department of Special Education
P.O. Box 117050
University of Florida
Gainesville, FL 32611-7050

Dear Parent/Guardian,

I am a doctoral student in the Department of Special Education at the University of Florida under the supervision of Dr. Stephen W. Smith, conducting research on children's moral reasoning. Moral reasoning refers to the logic children use when determining what the "ought" to do in a dilemma. The results of the study may help educators understand how children make decisions about their own behavior and the behavior others. These results may not directly help your child today, but may benefit students in the future.

With your consent, your child will participate in three interviews in which I will tell him/her nine short stories about characters facing a moral decision. I will ask your child questions about what the characters in the stories ought to do, but your child will not be required to answer any question he/she does not wish to answer. I am requesting your permission to audiotape your child's responses. The children who participate will be assigned a code number and children's names will not be recorded on any of the tapes, transcripts, or notes. Only Dr. Smith and I will have access to the audiotapes and at the end of the study, all tapes will be destroyed. The interviews will take place at school during school hours at a time agreeable to his/her teacher. Results will only be reported in the form of group data. Your child's identity will be kept confidential to the extent provided by law and participation and non-participation in this study will not affect the your child's grades or placement in any programs.

You and your child have the right to withdraw consent for your child's participation at any time without consequence. There are no known risks or immediate benefits to your child and no compensation is offered for participation. Group results of this study will be available in July upon request. If you have any questions about this research protocol, please contact me at 392-0726 ext. 288 or my faculty supervisor, Dr. Smith, at 392-0701 ext. 247. Questions or concerns about your child's rights as research participant may be directed to the UFIRB office, University of Florida, Box 112250, Gainesville, FL 32611, (352) 392-0433.

Elizabeth L. Hardman

I have read the procedure described above. I voluntarily give my consent for my child, _____, to participate in Elizabeth Hardman's study of children's moral reasoning. I have received a copy of this description.

_____ _____
Parent / Guardian Date

_____ _____
2nd Parent / Witness Date

Assent Script 2
(Audiotaped Interviews)

My name is Elizabeth Hardman and I am a student at the University of Florida. I would like to tell you some stories and then ask you some questions about what you think the character in the story ought to do. I will be the only one to hear your answers and I will not tell any one what you say. If you tell me about any abuse, however, I must report it. You may stop at any time and you do not have to answer any questions you don't want to answer. I am going to audiotape our interview as a part of the study. Do you agree to participate?

I would like to audiotape our interview. Do you mind if I tape our interview?

APPENDIX B
RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

MORAL THEME INVENTORY
(Narvaez et al., 1999)

SCHOOL_____

PARTICIPANT NUMBER_____

We are interested in finding out what you think about four stories, two today and two next time. We will be playing a tape of someone reading each story as you read along. After reading each story, we will ask you to think about the most important moral message of the story. Then we will ask you questions about the story. Let's go through an example of what you will do. First, you will follow a story while a tape of it is being played. Second, we will ask you some questions to answer on your own. Here is the example.

The Monkey and the Rabbit

Long ago in the deep jungle, Monkey and Rabbit were sharing a meal. Monkey was feasting on ripe yellow bananas while Rabbit munched on juicy green leaves. While they ate, each practiced the habits most natural to him. Monkey scratched; first his head, then his chest, then his arms and, of course, his legs. He scratched and scratched during the entire meal. While Monkey scratched, Rabbit turned his head; first to the right, then to the left, then behind him, and then above. He was on the lookout for an enemy attack, and all through the meal he could not keep still.

Finally Monkey said, "Please stop turning away from me when I'm talking. It's not polite." "Look who's complaining about good manners," said Rabbit. "You've been scratching the whole time. Scratching is more impolite than looking for enemies."

Then they decided to make a bet. The Monkey would stop scratching and the Rabbit would stop looking around. The one who moved first would have to feed the other for a week.

So they sat facing each other, and for a few minutes it was easy. But as time went by, staying still became harder and harder. Monkey itched so badly that he felt like screaming! Rabbit was so frightened of his enemies that he was trembling! Finally Monkey suggested that they tell each other stories to pass the time.

Monkey started to tell about when he got separated from his mother as an infant and nearly got killed. First he was hit by a branch on the head; then he ran into a bee's nest and got stung all over; and then he fell and hurt his leg. As he told each part of the story, he scratched the places where he got hurt. It felt so good to scratch.

Rabbit realized that Monkey was trying to trick him and said, "Now I'll tell you a story." He told about the night he watched his brothers and sisters while his mother was out. It was so dark that every sound made him

jump. As he described the sounds, he turned his head to look in the direction of the sound he had heard.

Monkey began laughing when he realized what Rabbit was doing. Then Rabbit began to laugh. They decided to call off the bet and to be friends with each other as they were.

Take a moment to think about the message of this story. What do you think the author would like you to learn about getting along with others? Think about what would be the <u>best lesson</u> from this story about getting along with others.

The researchers think that the best message of this story is "Accept others as they are."

QUESTIONS

First, we will ask you some True-False questions about the story. Circle "True" if the statement is true about the story or circle "False" if the statement is false about the story. Answer these questions without looking back at the story.

True False 1. Monkey and Rabbit were enemies.

True False 2. Rabbit was never afraid.

Next, please read the following three stories. As you read each one, you will decide how well its message matches the best message from "The Monkey and the Rabbit" and you will mark your answer below the story.

Story A

Deep in the jungle lived two good friends, a pig and a bird. The pig worked very hard to find food. All day the pig snorted and sniffed around for fruits to eat. The pig was a messy eater. She usually left scraps of fruit around after finishing a meal. Unlike the pig, the bird did not have to work hard to find food. She simply followed the pig and nibbled on the scraps the pig left behind. The pig did not mind that the bird ate the scraps of food that she had worked so hard to get. Why? Because the bird kept the pig company all day and sang as the pig sniffed out their next meal.

Very much the same

About the same

So-so

Different

Very different

Story B

Rover was a family dog. He was the only pet in the house and loved his lazy days of sleeping on the front porch. Then one day the family brought home a kitten. The kitten loved to run around and play all day. Rover could no longer sleep on the porch because the kitten was always playing there. The kitten didn't like Rover because he would just lay around and not play with her. The kitten wished that Rover was more playful and Rover wished the kitten would take more naps. One day the Kitten went to the doctor for a checkup. While she was gone, Rover missed her and she missed Rover. When she got back, Rover wasn't so upset with her playing and she didn't mind so much his napping.

Very much the same | **About the same** | **So-so** | **Different** | **Very different**

Story C

In the reptile house at the zoo, there lived a snake and a lizard. One day they shared a meal. The snake ate worms and the lizard ate green bugs. They made a bet about who could eat the most. While they ate, they talked about their lives when they were young. Lizard laughed at Snake's stories and Snake laughed at Lizard's stories. When they were finished eating, they couldn't figure out who had eaten more so they went off to play.

Very much the same | **About the same** | **So-so** | **Different** | **Very different**

Next you will mark which of the three stories above has a message that most closely matches the best message of "The Monkey and the Rabbit."

Circle the title: Story A Story B Story C

Story B is circled because it has the same message, "Accept others as they are" as does "The Monkey and the Rabbit."

Next, we will present several messages that people have suggested to be the message of "The Monkey and the Rabbit." You will mark how good a match each message is with what you think is the best message of "The Monkey and the Rabbit."

1. Don't try to change others.

Very much the same

About the same

So-so

Different

Very different

2. Be alert, you may get tricked.

Very much the same

About the same

So-so

Different

Very different

3. Accept others as they are and don't try to change them.

Very much the same

About the same

So-so

Different

Very different

4. Monkeys and rabbits make rude friends.

Very much the same

About the same

So-so

Different

Very different

Then we will list the possible messages again. You will CIRCLE the number of the TWO messages that you think most closely match the best message from "The Monkey and the Rabbit". Remember to circle two.

1. Don't try to change others.
2. Be alert, you may get tricked.
3. Accept others as they are and don't try to change them.
4. Monkeys and rabbits make rude friends.

Number 1 and number 3 are circled because they are the closest matches to what the researchers think is the best message of "The Monkey and the Rabbit," "Accept others as they are."

Do you have any questions about what we would like you to do? Please ask the researcher NOW. After your questions, please wait until everyone is ready. Then we will ask you to turn the page and follow along as we play a recording of the first story.

Jed

Jed waved goodbye to his mother, pulled the door shut, and sighed. He had a lot to do. But he was hungry so he went to the refrigerator and took the leftover pizza. He drank another quart of milk. He also ate some chocolate ice cream. He seemed to be hungry all the time. As he wiped his mouth on his sweatshirt, he thought that he should get started on the chores while his baby sister was still napping.

It was Saturday and his mother was off to her university class. She was taking classes to become a nurse. This was the weekend for his dad to be on duty as a cop. So Jed was in charge of the house for the next four hours. That included not only his sister, but making dinner, vacuuming the living room, cleaning his room, and brushing the dog-- who was shedding hair all over the house. He was also supposed to prepare the cans and bottles for recycling --the pickup was on Monday. After taking some frozen chicken out of the freezer to thaw, he decided to brush the dog.

The dog followed him out the front door into the warm air. He was an old sheep dog. They called him "Dog" because he would come when they said it. Jed sat down on the steps and began to brush him. Dog cooperated by sitting on top of Jed's feet. Jed kept quiet so he could hear his sister, if she woke up.

When Jed was almost finished, Lance, his friend who lived across the street, came over tossing his football.

"Hey, Jed, want to play football? We're getting a bunch of kids together to play at the park."

"Naw, I've got chores to do."

"He's always working, Lance. But I'll play!" The call came from next door where Kou lived. Kou came out of his front door, "I'll go for long one, Lance!"

Lance threw the football ahead of Kou as he dashed into the next yard. Kou dove and barely caught it. He was still learning the game after having arrived from Vietnam only a year ago. His throw was wobbly. "I have to work on it," he said as he sat down on the sidewalk.

"What do you have to do, Jed?" Lance asked.

"Oh, just some cleaning, dinner..." he mumbled.

"Wouldn't you rather go play? We could come back in an hour and you could do all that stuff then," Lance suggested.

"Yeah, but..." Jed couldn't think of anything to say. He really wanted to play football. It was always fun hanging out with friends and playing. Maybe he could just buy pizza for the family dinner. And he could clean his

room Sunday night, instead of watching TV with the family. He started to brush the rest of the dog as fast as he could.

"I'll get my bike," Lance yelled as he ran across the street.

"Get your things. I will finish," Kou urged as he took the brush out of his hand.

Jed stepped inside and started up the stairs. Then he remembered his sister. He would wake her up and take her along in the stroller. He went upstairs and into her room. She was sound asleep in her crib. He looked at his watch. She had been asleep for only an hour. She usually slept two hours. If he woke her up now, she'd probably be crabby the rest of the day. So what, he thought, his mother would have to deal with it.

He looked in the closet for the diaper bag and filled it with diapers, wetwipes and a change of clothes. He got a jacket from his room and then went back to the crib. He leaned over her, and then he stopped. He was supposed to be taking care of her. She wasn't supposed to be doing things for <u>him</u>--like losing her nap so <u>he</u> could have fun. He stepped back. His mom was counting on him to take care of things. He put his jacket back and walked downstairs and outside. He sat down on the steps and took the brush from Kou. He started brushing the dog again.

"Aren't you going?" asked Kou.

"No, I can't. It's not fair to my sister if I wake her up."

Kou looked at him and nodded, "I understand."

When Lance came out of his garage, Kou called out. "I'll get my jacket, one minute!" Kou ran to his house.

"Let's go, Dog, time to do the recycling bins." Jed held the door while Dog lumbered in.

Take a moment to think about the message of this story. What do you think the author would like you to learn about getting along with others? Think about what would be the best lesson from this story about getting along with others.

PLEASE WAIT FOR THE INSTRUCTIONS TO MOVE AHEAD

QUESTIONS

Here are some True-False questions about the story, "Jed". Circle "True" if the statement is true about the story or circle "False" if the statement is false about the story. Answer these questions without looking back at the story.

True False 1. Kou was a good football player.

True False 2. Jed spent the day with his friends.

True False 3. At first, Jed was going to take his sister in the stroller to the park.

True False 4. Kou went to the park with Lance.

True False 5. Jed brushed the dog on the front steps.

True False 6. Jed's parents were home that day.

True False 7. Jed had to prepare dinner.

True False 8. Jed played football with his friends that day.

True False 9. Dog didn't like getting brushed.

True False 10. Lance lived across the street.

PLEASE WAIT FOR THE INSTRUCTIONS TO MOVE AHEAD

Please read the following four stories. As you read each one, decide how well its message matches the best message from "Jed."

Story A

When Jed arrived at school for the first day of the year, his homeroom teacher asked him to help a new student get comfortable in the school. It turned out to be Kou's cousin who had just arrived in the country. He was in the same grade as Jed but Kou was in a different grade. That day in school Jed went from class to class and introduced Kou's cousin to his friends. They saw Lance in English class. The bell rang and the three of them went off to lunch together. They were all very hungry. Jed and Lance pulled out their lunch money. Jed noticed that Kou's cousin did not have any money so he bought a lunch for him.

Very much the same

About the same

So-so

Different

Very different

Story B

"Be sure not to wake up Angela while I'm gone. She needs to sleep for at least two hours. Bye, sweetheart!" Vinnie's mom called as she left for her weekly class. Now Vinnie had the house to himself. He smiled and thought about starting his favorite activity—cooking. He decided to make spaghetti sauce. As he was working in the kitchen, the doorbell rang. Vinnie opened the door. It was his friend, Manolo. "Want to go to the mall?" Manolo asked. "Heather is driving." Vinnie liked to go hang out at the mall and he never turned down a chance. But today he wanted to make a good spaghetti dinner. "No, thanks, I'm into cooking now. Later, okay?" Manolo left and Vinnie went back to the spaghetti sauce.

Very much the same

About the same

So-so

Different

Very different

Story C

It was a typical Saturday in Jonny's house. His mom was working in the basement and his dad was shoveling snow. Jonny did his homework and then felt like playing basketball. He set up a basket on the refrigerator and started playing with the Nerf ball. On one of his shots he bumped the kitchen table, knocked over the sugar bowl and broke it. His mother came in the kitchen and asked what had happened. Jonny told her that he had knocked over the sugar bowl. "Oh, were you cleaning the kitchen?" his mother asked. "No, I was playing basketball." His mother replied, "You know you are not supposed to play in here, but I am glad you told me the truth. I'll get you the broom."

Very much the same | **About the same** | **So-so** | **Different** | **Very different**

Story D

Megan looked out the window of the store where she worked. Her boss had left for an hour so she was in charge. She looked at the ice cream store nearby and got hungry for a strawberry cone. Maybe she could run quickly and get one. If she waited until after work, the shop would be closed. Megan checked her watch. Her boss would not be back for a while. She could run and get one and he would never know it. She grabbed the key to lock the door. As she headed for the door, she passed the stacks of soup and noodles she was supposed to be putting on the shelves. If she left her work undone, her boss might not ever trust her again. So she put the key back and began to unpack the tomato soup.

Very much the same | **About the same** | **So-so** | **Different** | **Very different**

Now mark which of the four stories above has a message that most closely matches the <u>best</u> message of "Jed". You may look back at the 4 stories and what you thought of their messages.

Circle one: Story A Story B Story C Story D

PLEASE WAIT FOR THE INSTRUCTIONS TO MOVE AHEAD

Below are several possible messages for "Jed". Mark how good a match each message is with what you think is the best message from "Jed".

1. Do the things that you have been told to do or you might get into trouble.

Very much the same

About the same

So-so

Different

Very different

2. Nice kids do their chores.

Very much the same

About the same

So-so

Different

Very different

3. Don't let temptations keep you from fulfilling your responsibilities.

Very much the same

About the same

So-so

Different

Very different

4. Think of your family before friends.

Very much the same

About the same

So-so

Different

Very different

5. Intermittently relationships interfere with maintaining a sanitary domicile.

Very much the same

About the same

So-so

Different

Very different

6. Plan your day so that you can do what you want to do.

Very much the same | **About the same** | **So-so** | **Different** | **Very different**

7. Sometimes you have to wait to do things you like because your work is more important.

Very much the same | **About the same** | **So-so** | **Different** | **Very different**

Below, we list the possible messages again. Please CIRCLE the number of the TWO messages that you think most closely match the best message from "Jed". Circle two.

1. Do the things that you have been told to do or you might get into trouble.

2. Nice kids do their chores.

3. Don't let temptations keep you from fulfilling your responsibilities.

4. Think of your family before friends.

5. Intermittently relationships interfere with maintaining a sanitary domicile.

6. Plan your day so that you can do what you want to do.

7. Sometimes you have to wait to do things you like because your work is more important.

Make sure to circle only two messages from the list.

PLEASE WAIT FOR THE INSTRUCTIONS TO MOVE AHEAD

Kim

Kim pushed against the heavy boxes as they leaned towards her on the sharp curve. Her dad noticed that the boxes were sliding so he slowed down on the freeway ramp. Her dad had lost his job. They were moving to another city where jobs grew on trees. So people said. They were headed for Minneapolis.

The car was packed with everything they owned. The dinner table and chairs were on top of the car and on top of two mattresses. They gave away the old sofa and stuffed chair before they left Detroit. But they still had the room-sized rug. It drooped off the roof over the back window. Every couple of hours they stopped to tighten the ropes and push the rug and mattresses back from crawling off the car.

Kim had her own box. It had her clothes, her favorite (and only) doll, the dancing ballerina jewelry box she got for her birthday, and the fancy gold vanity set she inherited from her rich godmother when she died. The comb had lost some of its teeth, but the brush and mirror still looked new.

She felt a punch on her arm.

"Stop it, Martin!"

Her little brother squirmed next to her, having gotten bored with rereading the one comic book he owned. He looked like his father, a Puertorican mix of many races--curly hair, blue eyes, olive skin. Kim looked like her mother, a Filipino-Chinese. She had almond eyes, straight dark hair and olive skin. Their parents had given them "good American names" so that they would not be teased in school.

"That looks like a good place," Mrs. Perez said softly as they found a small gas station with a grassy lot behind.

Mr. Perez pulled into the gas station. "Everybody out for a stretch!" He didn't have to convince anyone. They all jumped right out.

As her dad filled the gas tank, Kim leaned against the car. Martin was off running and bouncing an old tennis ball in the grassy lot. She watched him for a moment thinking about whether or not to join him. She decided not to. She was tired of his company after sitting next to him in the car all day long.

"You should get some exercise, girl! Here take this $20 and go pay for the gas. You should get back $1.15."

Her dad was very careful with money. They didn't have much of it. They barely had enough for gas to Minneapolis. The only thing they were eating was baloney sandwiches made from day-old bread and thin slices of baloney. Not even any ketchup! They would buy a carton of milk and a

carton of juice and pass them around while they ate the sandwiches. Martin always spilled. Mom said it was because he had a small mouth.

Once inside the gas station store, she eyed the potato chips at the counter but then looked away as her mouth watered. She handed the clerk the $20 bill. As the clerk opened the cash drawer there was a loud crash in the corner of the store. They heard a loud cry.

The clerk became alarmed. "It's my 3-year-old son." She had the 15 cents in her hand. She quickly reached for a bill, pushed it into Kim's hand and went running to help her son. Kim watched. The boy was all right. He had pulled down a stack of cereal boxes but didn't look hurt.

Kim went outside. Her father was playing catch with Martin and her mother was still in line for the bathroom. She looked at the change in her hand. Then she looked again. Instead of $1.15 she had $5.15. The clerk had given her a five-dollar bill instead of a one-dollar bill.

She thought of the candy that she could buy with the extra money. She could go in the store and pretend she had forgotten to buy fruit rollups, potato chips and pop. The whole family could have a treat, something they rarely had money for. Or she could go ask for change, give her dad the $1.15 and then save the $4 for herself. She wanted to buy a Teacher Barbie doll because she wanted to be a teacher when she grew up.

She couldn't decide, candy and treats now or save for the doll. Then she heard her mother's voice in her head, "You are a Kwong. Kwongs know that the path to success is self-control. Don't do what your feelings tell you to do without thinking about it first. Stop and think. Plan for the future. What you do today affects all your tomorrows." Kim decided not to buy the treats.

She thought about the money. Then she heard her father's voice inside her head from a time when his boss had given him too much money in his paycheck: "If you want to be a good person, you should always try to be honest. And you must always be honest because you are a Perez. We, Perez, are all honest, good people. Everybody knows that."

Was she being dishonest by keeping money put in her hand by someone she didn't even know? She would never see this clerk again. The clerk didn't know the Kwongs or the Perez family and they didn't know her. Did it really matter to be honest with people that you didn't know and didn't know you? She entered the store and went to the counter and held out the money to the clerk.

Later, when everyone was back in the car, Kim handed the money to her father. "Here's the change, Papá. She gave me too much but I gave it back."

"Good for you, sweetheart, good for you." Mr. Perez started up the car and they drove out of the lot.

Martin said, "Let's play alphabet--there's an `A'!"

"Okay, amorcito--I see a `B'!" Kim responded. She smiled and felt grownup.

Take a moment to think about the message of this story. What do you think the author would like you to learn about getting along with others? Think about what would be the best lesson from this story about getting along with others.

PLEASE WAIT FOR THE INSTRUCTIONS TO MOVE AHEAD

QUESTIONS

Here are some True-False questions about the story. Circle "True" if the statement is true about the story or circle "False" if the statement is false about the story. Answer these questions without looking back at the story.

True False 1. Kim didn't want to pay for the gas.

True False 2. Kim wanted to buy snacks.

True False 3. Kim's father stopped the car at a grocery store.

True False 4. The family planned to go out for lunch.

True False 5. Kim's parents were not from Minnesota.

True False 6. Kim's father wanted the children to stay in the car.

True False 7. Kim played the alphabet game with her father.

True False 8. Kim's father was upset that she didn't keep the extra money.

True False 9. Some boxes fell in the store.

True False 10. The clerk was worried about her son.

PLEASE WAIT FOR THE INSTRUCTIONS TO MOVE AHEAD

Please read the following four stories. As you read each one, decide how well its message matches the best message from "Kim".

Story A

For summer vacation Dawn was going to visit her aunt Sandy who was sick. It would take 3 days to get there. Dawn prepared for her trip very carefully, making sure she had enough money for gas. She planned ahead for each stop she would need to make. On the second day of driving Dawn noticed a gas station ahead. It wasn't where she expected it. She had planned to stop at the gas station 20 miles from there. Dawn looked at her gas gauge. She knew she had enough gas to make it the 20 miles but not much farther. She decided that she should get gas at this station just to be safe. She pulled over and filled the gas tank. While she was paying for the gas, the cashier told her that the gas station 20 miles away was closed. Dawn was glad she had stopped there.

Very much the same

About the same

So-so

Different

Very different

Story B

Rhonda helped her mother unload the bags of groceries from their car. They had spent the day picking up groceries for the poor. Now, at dinner time, they were delivering them to poor families. This family was the last one. After they took the groceries inside, her mother sent Rhonda back to the car while she finished inside. Rhonda reached to shut the trunk. Then she noticed a tiny bag in the corner that they had missed. She looked inside. It contained several chocolate bars. Her stomach growled. The candy would fit into the pockets of her big winter coat. The family wasn't expecting the candy, so they would never know if she kept it. But it had been given for the family and therefore belonged to them. She ran quickly inside to deliver the bag.

Very much the same | **About the same** | **So-so** | **Different** | **Very different**

Story C

When Kim's family arrived in Minneapolis, they went to stay with Kim's uncle. Martin and Kim were happy to finally get out of the car. Kim took her box of things inside. Martin took his ball and comic book to show his cousins. The uncle and his family thought that Kim's family might be hungry. So they made them a big dinner. Kim and her family ate until they were full and forgot all about baloney sandwiches. After dinner, Kim and Martin played games with their cousins.

Very much the same | **About the same** | **So-so** | **Different** | **Very different**

Story D

The Nicholson family was driving to Detroit. Theresa was not looking forward to moving. She didn't want to have to meet new friends, but she thought meeting new people would be better than hanging out with Chet, her brother. Chet was starting to bother her big time--especially after being in the car with him for so long.

Mr. Nicholson finally pulled off the highway so that they could eat dinner in a small town. They had an enjoyable meal at the town cafe. After receiving the bill for their food, Mr. Nicholson gave Theresa some money. "Sweetheart, will you please go pay the bill for our food? You should receive $4.50 back. Be sure to count your change." Theresa loved having adult responsibilities. She happily took the money from her father and went to pay the bill.

Very much the same

About the same

So-so

Different

Very different

Now mark which of the four stories above has a message that most closely matches the <u>best</u> message of "Kim". You may look back at the 4 stories and what you thought of their messages.

Circle the title: Story A Story B Story C Story D

PLEASE WAIT FOR THE INSTRUCTIONS TO MOVE AHEAD

Below are several possible messages for "Kim". Mark how good a match each message is with what you think is the best message of "Kim".

1. Good children don't embarrass their parents.

Very much the same	About the same	So-so	Different	Very different

2. If you give up what isn't yours now, your parents will reward you later.

Very much the same	About the same	So-so	Different	Very different

3. If you think of others first instead of your family, your family may suffer.

Very much the same	About the same	So-so	Different	Very different

4. Monetary interchanges need to be monitored scrupulously.

Very much the same	About the same	So-so	Different	Very different

5. Treat all people with honesty no matter what tempts you.

Very much the same	About the same	So-so	Different	Very different

6. You might get caught if you keep money that isn't yours.

Very much the same

Ahout the same

So-so

Different

Very different

7. You shouldn't keep what isn't yours even from strangers.

Very much the same

Ahout the same

So-so

Different

Very different

Below, we list the possihle messages again. Please CIRCLE the numher of the two messages that you think most closely match the hest message from "Kim". Circle two.

1. Good children don't embarrass their parents.

2. If you give up what isn't yours now, your parents will reward you later.

3. If you think of others first instead of your family, your family may suffer.

4. Monetary interchanges need to be monitored scrupulously.

5. Treat all people with honesty no matter what tempts you.

6. You might get caught if you keep money that isn't yours.

7. You shouldn't keep what isn't yours even from strangers.

Make sure to circle only two messages from the list.

PLEASE WAIT FOR THE INSTRUCTIONS TO MOVE AHEAD

FEELINGS QUESTIONNAIRE
(Jacobs & Blumer, 1984)

FEELINGS QUESTIONNAIRE
PPS-1

DIRECTIONS: A number of statements which boys and girls use to describe themselves are given below. Read each statement carefully and decide how you feel right now. Then put an "X" in the box in front of the word or phrase which best describes how you feel. There are no right or wrong answers. Do not spend too much time on any one statement. Remember, find the word or phrase which best describes how you feel right now, at this very moment.

1. I feel upset ..... ☐ very much so ☐ somewhat ☐ not at all
2. I feel like banging on the table... ☐ very much so ☐ somewhat ☐ not at all
3. I feel pleasant ..... ☐ very much so ☐ somewhat ☐ not at all
4. I feel angry ..... ☐ very much so ☐ somewhat ☐ not at all
5. I feel scared ..... ☐ very much so ☐ somewhat ☐ not at all
6. I feel like yelling at somebody ... ☐ very much so ☐ somewhat ☐ not at all
7. I feel worried ..... ☐ very much so ☐ somewhat ☐ not at all
8. I feel grouchy ..... ☐ very much so ☐ somewhat ☐ not at all
9. I feel happy ..... ☐ very much so ☐ somewhat ☐ not at all
10. I feel like breaking things ..... ☐ very much so ☐ somewhat ☐ not at all
11. I feel good ..... ☐ very much so ☐ somewhat ☐ not at all

PLEASE PROCEED TO THE NEXT PAGE.

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12. I am mad ..... ☐ very much so ☐ somewhat ☐ not at all

13. I feel bothered ..... ☐ very much so ☐ somewhat ☐ not at all

14. I feel like hitting someone ..... ☐ very much so ☐ somewhat ☐ not at all

15. I feel nice ..... ☐ very much so ☐ somewhat ☐ not at all

16. I feel grumpy ..... ☐ very much so ☐ somewhat ☐ not at all

17. I feel terrified ..... ☐ very much so ☐ somewhat ☐ not at all

18. I feel like swearing ..... ☐ very much so ☐ somewhat ☐ not at all

19. I feel cheerful ..... ☐ very much so ☐ somewhat ☐ not at all

Form a110597

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FEELINGS QUESTIONNAIRE
PPS-2

DIRECTIONS: A number of statements which boys and girls use to describe themselves are given below. Read each statement carefully and decide if it is hardly-ever, or sometimes, or often true for you. Then for each statement, put an "X" in the box in front of the word which seems to describe you best. There are no right or wrong answers. Do not spend too much time on any one statement. Remember, choose the word which seems to describe how you usually feel.

1 I worry too much ..... ☐ hardly-ever ☐ sometimes ☐ often

2. I get angry quickly ..... ☐ hardly-ever ☐ sometimes ☐ often

3. It is difficult for me to face my problems ..... ☐ hardly-ever ☐ sometimes ☐ often

4. I have a bad temper..... ☐ hardly-ever ☐ sometimes ☐ often

5. I get upset at home..... ☐ hardly-ever ☐ sometimes ☐ often

6. I get angry when I have to wait for someone because they have made a mistake ..... ☐ hardly-ever ☐ sometimes ☐ often

7. Unimportant thoughts run through my mind and bother me ..... ☐ hardly-ever ☐ sometimes ☐ often

8. When I get mad I say nasty things... ☐ hardly-ever ☐ sometimes ☐ often

9. I worry about school..... ☐ hardly-ever ☐ sometimes ☐ often

10. I get angry very quickly ..... ☐ hardly-ever ☐ sometimes ☐ often

PLEASE PROCEED TO THE NEXT PAGE.

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11. I have trouble deciding what to do ☐hardly-ever ☐sometimes ☐often

12. I feel bothered when no one notices that I did something well ☐hardly-ever ☐sometimes ☐often

13. I worry about my parents ☐hardly-ever ☐sometimes ☐often

14. I get mad too quickly ☐hardly-ever ☐sometimes ☐often

15. I worry about things that may happen ☐hardly-ever ☐sometimes ☐often

16. I get angry when I'm told I'm wrong in front of others ☐hardly-ever ☐sometimes ☐often

17. It is hard for me to fall asleep at night ☐hardly-ever ☐sometimes ☐often

18. When I get so angry I don't know what to do, I feel like hitting someone ☐hardly-ever ☐sometimes ☐often

19. I worry about what others think of me ☐hardly-ever ☐sometimes ☐often

20. I feel mad when I do something well and my parents or teacher say I didn't do a good job ☐hardly-ever ☐sometimes ☐often

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FEELINGS QUESTIONNAIRE
PAES-3

DIRECTIONS: A number of statements which boys and girls use to describe themselves when they feel angry or very angry are given below. Read each statement carefully and decide if it is hardly-ever, or sometimes, or often true for you. Then for each statement, put an "X" in the box in front of the word which seems to describe how you feel or act when you are angry or very angry. There are no right or wrong answers. Do not spend too much time on any one statement. Remember, choose the word which seems to describe how you usually feel or act when you are angry or very angry.

1. I control my temper..... ☐ hardly-ever ☐ sometimes ☐ often
2. I show my anger. ..... ☐ hardly-ever ☐ sometimes ☐ often
3. I hold my anger in..... ☐ hardly-ever ☐ sometimes ☐ often
4. I talk to someone until I feel better..... ☐ hardly-ever ☐ sometimes ☐ often
5. I do things like slam doors ..... ☐ hardly-ever ☐ sometimes ☐ often
6. I hide my anger..... ☐ hardly-ever ☐ sometimes ☐ often
7. I keep my cool..... ☐ hardly-ever ☐ sometimes ☐ often
8. I attack whatever it is that makes me very angry ..... ☐ hardly-ever ☐ sometimes ☐ often
9. I get mad inside but I don't show it ... ☐ hardly-ever ☐ sometimes ☐ often
10. I do something totally different until I calm down ..... ☐ hardly-ever ☐ sometimes ☐ often

PLEASE PROCEED TO THE NEXT PAGE

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11. I say mean things ☐ hardly-ever ☐ sometimes ☐ often

12. I can stop myself from losing my temper ☐ hardly-ever ☐ sometimes ☐ often

13. I try to calmly settle the problem ☐ hardly-ever ☐ sometimes ☐ often

14. I lose my temper ☐ hardly-ever ☐ sometimes ☐ often

15. I'm afraid to show my anger ☐ hardly-ever ☐ sometimes ☐ often

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MORAL DILEMMA INTERVIEW

INTERVIEW I

Kohlbergian Dilemmas
(Colby & Kohlberg, 1987b)

Heinz's Dilemma
Part I

In Europe, a woman was near death from a special kind of cancer. There was one medicine that the doctors thought might save her. It was a form of radium that a druggist in the same town had recently discovered. The medicine was expensive to make, but the druggist was charging ten times what it cost him to make the medicine. He paid $400 for the radium and charged $4000 for a small dose. The sick woman's husband, Heinz, went to everyone he knew to borrow the money and tried every legal means, but he could only get together about $2000, which is half of what the medicine cost. He told the druggist that his wife was dying, and asked him to sell it cheaper or let him pay later. But the druggist said, "No, I discovered the medicine and I'm going to make money from it." So having tried every legal means, Heinz gets desperate and considers breaking into the man's story to steal the medicine for his wife.

1. Tell me what this story is about.

2. Should he steal the medicine? Why or why not?

3. Is it actually right or wrong for him to steal the medicine? Why is it right or wrong?

4. Does Heinz have a duty of obligation to steal the medicine? Why or why not?

5. [If the child favors stealing] If Heinz doesn't love his wife, should he steal the drug for her? Or [If the child favors not stealing] does it make a difference whether or not he loves his wife? Why or why not?

6. Suppose the person dying is not his wife but a stranger. Should Heinz steal the medicine for the stranger? Why or why not?

7. [If child favors stealing] Suppose it is a pet animal he loves. Should Heinz steal to save the pet animal? Why or why not?

8. Is it important for people to do everything they can to save another's life? Why or why not?

9. It is against the law for Heinz to steal. Does that make it morally wrong? Why or why not?

10. In general, should people try to do everything they can to obey the law? Why or why not?

11. How does this apply to what Heinz should do?

12. In thinking over the dilemma, what would you say is the most responsible thing for Heinz to do? Why?

Heinz's Dilemma
Part 2

Heinz did break into the store. He stole the medicine and gave it to his wife. In the newspapers the next day there was an account of the robbery. Mr. Brown, a police officer who knew Heinz, read the account. He remembered seeing Heinz running away from the store and realized that it was Heinz who stole the medicine. Mr. Brown wonders whether he should report that Heinz was the robber.

1. Should Officer Brown report Heinz for stealing? Why or why not?

2. Suppose Officer Brown was a close friend of Heinz, should he then report him? Why or why not?

Heinz's Dilemma
Part 3

Officer Brown did report Heinz. Heinz was arrested and brought to court. A jury was selected. The jury's job is to find whether a person is innocent or guilty of committing a crime. The jury finds Heinz guilty. It is up to the judge to determine the sentence.

3. Should the judge give Heinz some sentence, or should he suspend the sentence and let Heinz go free? Why is that best?

4. Thinking in terms of society, should people who break the law be punished? Why or why not?

5. How does this apply to how the judge should decide?

6. Heinz was doing what his conscience told him when he stole the drug. Should a lawbreaker be punished if he is acting out of conscience? Why or why not?

7. Thinking back over the dilemma, what would you say is the most responsible thing for the judge to do? Why? (p. 229-231)

Louise's Delimma

Judy was a twelve-year-old girl. Her mother promised her that she could go to a special rock concert coming to their town if she saved up from baby-sitting and lunch money so she would have enough money to buy a ticket to the concert. She managed to save up the

$15 dollars it cost plus another $5. But then her mother changed her mind and told Judy that she had to spend the money on new clothes for school. Judy was disappointed and decided to go to the concert anyway. She bought a ticket and told her mother that she had only been able to save $5. That Saturday she went to the performance and told her mother that she was spending the day with a friend. A week passed without her mother finding out. Judy then told her older sister, Louise, that she had gone to the performance and had lied to her mother about it. Louise wonders whether to tell their mother what Judy did.

1. Tell me what this story is about.

2. Should Louise, the older sister, tell their mother that Judy had lied about the money or should she keep quiet? Why or why not?

3. In wondering whether to tell, Louise thinks of the fact that Judy is her sister. Should that make a difference in Louise's decision? Why or why not?

4. Does telling have anything to do with being a good daughter? Why or why not?

5. Is the fact that Judy earned the money herself important in this situation? Why or why not?

6. The mother promised Judy she could go to the concert if she earned the money. Is the fact that the mother promised the most important thing in the situation? Why or why not? Why in general should a promise be kept?

7. Is it important to keep a promise to someone you don't know well and probably won't see again? Why or why not?

8. What do you think is the most important thing a mother should be concerned about in her relationship to her daughter?

9. Why is this the most important thing

10. In general, what should be the authority of a mother over her daughter? Why?

11. What do you think is the most important thing a daughter should be concerned about in her relationship to her mother?

12. Why is that the most important thing?

13. In thinking back over the dilemma, what would you say is the most responsible thing for Louise to do in this situation? Why? (p. 234-235)

INTERVIEW II

Piagetian Dilemmas
(Piaget, 1932/1965)

Father's Pen

A boy was playing in his room, while his daddy was working in town. After a little while the boy thought he would like to draw. But he had no paper. Then he remembered that there were some lovely white sheets of paper in one of the drawers of his father's desk. So he went quite quietly to look for them. He found them and took them away. When the father came home he found that his desk was untidy and finally discovered that someone had stolen his paper. He went straight into the boy's room, and there he saw the floor covered with sheets of paper that were all scribbled over with colored chalk. Then the father was very angry and gave his boy a good whipping.

Now I shall tell you a story that is nearly the same, but not quite. This time it ends differently.

A boy was playing in his room, while his daddy was working in town. After a little while the boy thought he would like to draw. But he had no paper. Then he remembered that there were some lovely white sheets of paper in one of the drawers of his father's desk. So he went quite quietly to look for them. He found them and took them away. When the father came home he found that his desk was untidy and finally discovered that someone had stolen his paper. He went straight into the boy's room, and there he saw the floor covered with sheets of paper that were all scribbled over with colored chalk. The father did not punish him. He just explained to him that it wasn't right of him. He said, "When you're not at home, when you've gone to school if I were to go and take your toys, you wouldn't like it. So when I'm not there, you mustn't go and take my paper either. It is not nice for me. It isn't right to do that.

Now a few days later these two boys were each of them playing in their yards. The boy who had been punished was in his yard, and the one who had not been punished was playing in his yard. And then each of them found a pen. It was their fathers' pen and each of them remembered that his father had said that he had lost his pen and that it was a pity because he wouldn't be able to find it again. So then they thought that if they were to steal the pen, no one would ever know, and there would be no punishment.

Well now, one of the boys kept the pen for himself, and the other took it back to his father. Guess which one took it back—the one who had been well punished for having taken the paper or the one who was only talked to?"

1. First, tell me what happened in the story.

2. Which one brought the pen back to his father?

3. Then what happened, did he do it again or not?

4. And the one the father didn't (or did) punish. Did he do it again?

5. If you had been the daddy, when they stole the paper, would you have punished them or explained?

6. Which is the nicest daddy, the one who punishes or the one who explains?

7. Which one is fairest, the one who punishes or the one who explains?

8. If you had been the boy, which would you have thought was fairest, to be punished or to have things explained to you?

9. Suppose you had been punished would you have done it again? Explained?

10. Which of the two boys didn't do it again?

11. What is the good of punishing?

12. What is the good of explaining? (pp. 219-221)

Mother's Scissors

A mother tells her three boys that they mustn't play with the scissors while she is out. But, as soon as she is gone the first one says, "Let's play with the scissors." Then the second boy goes to get some newspapers to cut out. The third one says, "No, Mother said we mustn't. I will not touch the scissors." When the mother comes home, she sees all the bit of cut-up newspaper on the floor. So she sees that someone has been touching her scissors, and she punishes all three boys. Was that fair?

1. Tell me what happened in this story.

2. What do you think of that?

3. Was it fair or not fair to punish all three of them? Why?

4. Who should have been punished?

5. How do you think the mother punished the children?

6. What would you have done if they were your children? (pp. 234-236)

Doing Chores

Once there was a camp of Boy Scouts (or Girl Scouts). Each one had to do his/her bit to help with the work and leave things tidy. One had to do the shopping, another washed up, another brought in wood or swept the floor. One day there was no bread and the one who did the shopping had already gone. So other Scoutmaster asked one of the Scouts who had already done his/her job to go and fetch the bread. What did he/she do?

1. Tell what this story is about.

2. What did he/she do? Why?

3. Was it fair or not fair to have told her to go? Why? (pp. 277-279)

The Foolish Brother

Once, long ago, and in a place very far away from here, there was a father who had two sons. One was very good and obedient. The other was a good sort, but he often did foolish things. One day the father goes off on a trip and says to the first son, "You must watch carefully, and when I come back you can tell me what your brother does." The father goes off on a trip and says to the first son, "You must watch carefully to see what your brother does, and when I come back you shall tell me." The father goes away and the brother goes and does something foolish. When the father comes back he asks the first boy to tell him everything. What ought the boy to do?

1. First, tell me happened in this story.

2. What should the boy say to the father?

3. Was it fair to tell (or not to tell)?

4. I know a little boy in the same story who said to his father, "Look here, it's not my business what my brother has done, ask him yourself." Was he right to say this to his father? Why?

5. Have you got a brother or sister?

6. Well let's pretend that you had to stay in at recess for not finishing your work and when you got home from school, your brother or sister said, "[child's name] had to stay in at recess today for not finishing his/her work." Would it be right of him/her to say that?

7. Do you know what a tattle-tale is?

8. Is it being a tattle-tale if your brother/sister tells your mother what happened to you at school?

9. Would the good brother in my story be a tattle-tale if he told the father the foolish things his brother had done? Why or why not? (p. 290)

The Long Walk

Two boys, a little one and a big one, once went for a long walk in the mountains. When lunch time came they were very hungry and took their food out of their bags. But they found that there was not enough for both of them. What should have been done? Give all the food to the big boy or to the little one, or the same to both?

1. Tell me what happened in this story?

2. What should have been done?

3. Was it fair?

4. What would you have done if you were the big boy?

5. What would you expect if you were the little boy? (pp. 310-311)

INTERVIEW III

The Box Car Children
(Warner, 1977)

Part 1

One warm night four children stood in front of a bakery. No one knew them. No one knew where they had come from.

The baker's wife saw them first, as they stood looking in at the window of her store. The little boy was looking at the cakes, the big boy was looking at the loaves of bread, and the two girls were looking at the cookies.

Now the baker's wife did not like children. She did not like boys at all. So she came to the front of the bakery and listened, looking very cross.

"The cake is good, Jessie," the little boy said. He was about five years old.

"Yes, Benny," said the big girl. "But bread is better for you. Isn't it, Henry?"

"Oh, yes," said Henry. "We must have some bread, and cake is not good for Benny and Violet."

"I like bread best, anyway," said Violet. She was about ten years old, and she had pretty brown hair and brown eyes.

"That is just like you, Violet," said Henry, smiling at her, "Let's go into the bakery. Maybe they will let us stay here for the night."

The baker's wife looked at them as they came in.

"I want three loaves of bread, please," said Jessie.

She smiled politely at the woman, but the woman did not smile. She looked at Henry as he put his hand in his pocket for the money. She looked cross, but she sold him the bread.

Jessie was looking around, too, and she saw a long red bench under each window of the bakery. The benches had flat red pillows on them.

"Will you let us stay here for the night?" Jessie asked. "We could sleep on those benches, and tomorrow we would help you wash the dishes and do things for you."

Now the woman liked this. She did not like to wash dishes very well. She would like to have a big boy to help her with her work.

"Where are your father and mother?" she asked.

"They are dead," said Henry.

"We have a grandfather in Greenfield, but we don't like him," said Benny.

Jessie put her hand over the little boy's mouth before he could say more.

"Oh, Benny, keep still!" she said.

"Why don't you like your grandfather?" asked the woman.

"He is our father's father, and he didn't like our mother," said Henry. "So we don't think he would like us. We are afraid he would be mean to us."

"Did you ever see him?" asked the woman.

"No," answered Henry.

"Then why do you think he would be mean to you?" asked the woman.

"Well, he never came to see us," said Henry. "He doesn't like us at all."

"Where did you live before you came here?" asked the woman.
But not one of the four children would tell her (Warner, pp. 7-11).

1. Tell me what this story is about.

2. Should the children tell the woman who they are and where they are from? Why or why not?

3. Is it actually right or wrong for the children to tell the woman who they are? Why is it right or wrong?

4. [If they say it is right] If the woman is nice would it be right to tell her who they are and where they are from? Why or why not? [If they say it is wrong] Does it make a difference if the woman is nice? Why or why not?

5. Suppose the grandfather is nice. Should the children tell the woman who they are? Why or why not.

6. Is it ever right for children to keep information from adults? Why or why not?

7. What do the children think the woman will do if they tell her who they are?

8. Is it right for them to keep the information from her? Why or why not?

Part 2

"We'll get along all right," said Jessie. "We want to stay here for only one night."

"You may stay here tonight," said the woman at last. "And tomorrow we'll see what we can do."

Henry thanked her politely.

We are all pretty tired and hungry," he said.

The children sat down on the floor. Henry cut one of the loaves of bread into four pieces with his knife, and the children began to eat.

"Delicious!" said Henry.

"Well, I never!" said the woman.

She went into the next room and shut the door.

"I'm glad she is gone," remarked Benny, eating. "She doesn't like us."

"Sh, Benny!" said Jessie. "She is good to let us sleep here."

After supper the children lay down on their red benches, and Violet and Benny soon went to sleep.

But Jessie and Henry could hear the woman talking to the baker.

She said, "I'll keep the three older children. They can help me. But the little boy must go to the Children's Home. He is too little. I cannot take care of him."

The baker answered, "Very well. Tomorrow I'll take the little boy to the Children's Home. We'll keep the others for awhile, but we must make them tell us who their grandfather is."

Jessie and Henry waited until the baker and his wife had gone to bed. Then they sat up in the dark.

"Oh, Henry!" whispered Jessie. "Let's run away from here!"

"Yes, indeed," said Henry. "We'll never let Benny go to a Children's Home. Never, never! We must be far away by morning, or they will find us. But we must not leave any of our things here."

Jessie sat still, thinking.

"Our clothes and a cake of soap and towels are in the big laundry bag," she said. "Violet has her little workbag. And we have two loaves of bread left. Have you your knife and the money?"

"Yes," said Henry. "I have almost four dollars."

"You must carry Benny," said Jessie. "He will cry if we wake him up. But I'll wake Violet.

"Sh, Violet! Come! We are going to run away again. If we don't run away, the baker will take Benny to a Children's Home in the morning."

The little girl woke up at once. She sat up and rolled off the bench. She did not make any noise.

"What shall I do? She whispered softly.

"Carry this," said Jessie. She gave her the workbag.

Jessie put the two loaves of bread into the laundry bag, and then she looked around the room.

"All right," she said to Henry. "Take Benny now."

Henry took Benny in his arms and carried him to the door of the bakery. Jessie took the laundry bag and opened the door very softly. All the children went out quietly. They did not say a word. Jessie shut the door, and then they all listened. Everything was very quiet. So the four children went down the street. (Warner, pp. 11-15).

1. Tell me what happened. What did the children decide to do?

2. Should they run away? Why or why not?

3. Is it right or wrong for them to run away? Why or why not?

4. Is it against the law for the children to run away?

5. If it is against the law, does that make it wrong? Why or why not?

6. In general, should children do everything they can to obey the law? Why or why not?

7. In general, should children do everything they can to obey adults? Why or why not?

Part 3

It was morning, but the sun was covered by clouds. [Jessie] sat up and looked all around her, and then she looked at the sky. It seemed like night, for it was very dark. Suddenly it began to thunder, and she saw that it was really going to rain.

"What shall we do? Where shall we go?" thought Jessie.

"Then she saw something ahead of her in the woods. It was an old boxcar.

"What a good house that will be in the rain!" she thought.

She ran over to the boxcar. There was no engine, and the track was old and rusty. It was covered with grass and bushes because it had not been used for a long time.

"It is a boxcar," Jessie said. "We can get into it and stay until it stops raining.

Henry took Benny's hand, and they all ran through the woods after Jessie.

The stump of a big tree stood under the door of the boxcar and was just right for a step. Jessie and Henry jumped upon the old dead stump and rolled back the heavy door of the car. Henry looked in.

"There is nothing in here," he said. "Come, Benny. We'll help you up."

Violet went in next, and, last of all, Jessie and Henry climbed in.

"What a beautiful place!" said Violet.

"Henry!" cried Jessie. "Let's live here!"

"Live here?" asked Henry.

"Yes! Why not?" said Jessie "This boxcar is a fine little house. It is dry and warm in the rain.

"We could wash in the brook," said Violet.

"Please, Henry," begged Jessie. "We could have the nicest little home here, and we could find some dishes, and make four beds and a table, and maybe chairs!" (Warner, pp. 27-31)

Jessie laughed and laughed until she almost cried. Violet laughed until she did cry.

Then she could not stop crying. She cried and cried. At last Jessie made up her mind that Violet was really sick.

"You must go to bed, Violet," she said. She . . . put pine needles all around her and under her. Then she wet a handkerchief in the cold water of the brook and laid it on her little sister's hot head.

"If Violet is very sick, she ought to go to the hospital," said Jessie.

"Yes, I know that," said Henry. " And we don't want her to go to a hospital if we can help it. We should have to tell her name."

"Yes," said Jessie. "Then Grandfather could find us."

The two older children sat up with Violet. They put cold water on her head. But after dark Violet shook all over, and Jessie was frightened. She covered Violet all over with pine needles, but still she shook. They could not get her warm (Warner, pp. 121-122).

1. Tell me what happened. What is wrong with Violet?

2. Why don't the children take Violet to the doctor?

3. Should they take her to a doctor? Why or why not.

4. What might happen if they don't take Violet to the doctor?

5. What if getting a doctor for Violet means that Benny will have to go to the Children's Home and they will have to go live with their mean grandfather. Then what should they do?

6. In thinking back over the story, what do you think is the most responsible thing for the children to do? Why?

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Elizabeth Long Hardman was born in 1949 and grew up in Forrest City, a small Arkansas town located in the Mississippi Delta. Her father was Fletcher Long, a World War II veteran and the prosecuting attorney for the 1st Judicial District and her mother, Peggy, was a "stay at home" mom. Elizabeth shared her childhood with one brother and three sisters in a typical 1950's family.

Elizabeth graduated from Forrest City High School in 1967 and enrolled in the College of Liberal Arts at the University of Arkansas. After two years, she enrolled in the College of Education and began to work on a double major in elementary and special education. Elizabeth married John Christopher Hardman in 1970 and graduated from the University of Arkansas in 1971 with a B.S.E. in elementary and special education, majoring in mental retardation. Following graduation, Elizabeth moved to Helena, Arkansas and taught special education classes and affiliated with the local Association for Retarded Citizens (ARC).

After two years of teaching Elizabeth gave birth to her first child, Emily Fletcher, and decided to quit teaching for a while. During this time she continued with the ARC, serving on its board of directors and as an association officer for many years. She also consulted with the local school district about starting classes for students with learning disabilities and worked as a substitute for the Phillips County School for Exceptional Students. She helped write a grant to fund an outreach program for at risk preschool children at the Phillips County School for Exceptional Students and served on a

school board appointed committee to investigate the equity of a tracking system used by the local high school. Her second child, John Christopher, was born sixteen months after her daughter's birth.

In 1979, Elizabeth began to prepare herself to return to the classroom by enrolling in a Master of Education program at the University of Mississippi. She graduated from the University of Mississippi in 1981 majoring in learning disabilities. She spent one more year as a special education teacher in Helen's public school district and then moved to Alexandria, Virginia, in 1983 where she accepted a job as a teacher in a private day school for students who were seriously emotionally disturbed.

In 1986, Elizabeth moved to Little Rock, Arkansas, where she secured a position working for the Arkansas Easter Seal Society as an Education/Habilitation Coordinator for its residential center. After a year in Little Rock, the family moved to Jacksonville, Arkansas, where she taught for the Pulaski County Special School District as a resource room teacher. After five years in Jacksonville, the family moved to Eustis, Florida, where Elizabeth quickly found a position as a special education teacher for the Lake County Schools.

After putting her two children through college and teaching special education for fifteen years, Elizabeth left the classroom and enrolled in the University of Florida with a goal of obtaining a doctorate in special education. In 1997 she was awarded the College of Education Fellowship as one of the top five applicants to the Graduate School of Education. In 1999, Elizabeth was awarded the highly competitive American Educational Research Association (AERA) Research Fellowship. In 2000, the U.S. Department of Education funded her dissertation study with a grant of $20,000.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Stephen W. Smith, Chair
Professor of Special Education

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

M. David Miller
Professor of Educational Psychology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Hazel A. Jones
Associate Professor of Special Education

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Maureen A. Conroy
Associate Professor of Special Education

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Cecil D. Mercer
Distinguished Professor of Special Education

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the College of Education and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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